

The
American Historical Review

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL
STUDIES, HELD AT LONDON

THOUGH the gathering which took place in London in April was in some official circulars designated as the Third International Congress of Historical Studies, it is well to remember that it was only the third of the quinquennial, and we may hope and expect regular, series. A modest beginning of such congresses was made at the Hague in 1898, and was followed by a second international gathering at Paris in 1900, held amid the distractions of a great international exposition. If these assemblages were not fully ecumenical, and were only partially successful, this lay in the nature of first beginnings. With the meeting at Rome in 1903 the Congrès International de Sciences Historiques took on the character of a fully-developed and permanent institution. That brilliantly successful gathering was followed by another at Berlin in 1908.¹ Quinquennial recurrence having now been established as the rule, it was on that occasion decided that the next, or fifth, congress should be held at London in 1913. The functions of government in such matters being more limited in Great Britain than in Germany, it was naturally arranged that the British Academy, in co-operation with universities, societies, and other institutions interested in historical science, should undertake the organization of the congress.

An organization thus based would almost of necessity lack some degree of unity and effectiveness. The general committee of organization, nearly a hundred in number, represented some eighty-four different societies and institutions; the executive committee, upon which presumably the actual work fell, was of the excessive number of sixty. It is to be expected that British individualism, which has had such brilliant results in history, should have its compensation in an organizing power, for such occasions, inferior to that of some

¹ See Professor Haskins's article in volume XIV. of this journal, pp. 1-8.

other nations. The Berlin committee issued the first of its preliminary circulars fifteen months before the date of the congress, and its programme well in advance of that date. The London committee issued its first circular only seven months beforehand, and its last circular, and the programme, did not reach the hands of the foreign members till after their arrival; no provisional list of members was generally available, and there was nothing answering to the *Kongresstageblatt* which proved so convenient in 1908. But while the course of the congress was marked by some *contretemps* that contrasted with the smooth running of the Berlin assembly, and while it is proper, and may be useful, to mention some of these facts of history, there was not a single foreign member, so far as the observations extended on which the present account is based, in whom the sense of such defects was not quite overborne by appreciation of the abounding hospitality, kindness, and desire to make the occasion agreeable in every way to the visitors. Individuals exerted themselves valiantly to do whatever organization had not already effected, and the atmosphere of solicitude and good-will was unmistakable. The individuals whom most members will remember with the greatest gratitude are, naturally, Professor I. Gollancz, secretary of the congress, Professor J. P. Whitney, secretary for papers, and Dr. George W. Prothero, vice-chairman of the executive committee.

All that is best in British hospitality was displayed in the entertainments which were tendered to members, especially to the foreign members, in lavish profusion. Evenings, from half-past four o'clock on, were happily left free for such pleasures. Two evenings before the formal opening of the sessions the Royal Historical Society gave a handsome dinner in the Venetian Room of the Holborn Restaurant, at which Professor Charles H. Firth, president of the society, presided, and at which responses to his address of welcome were made by Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin, Professor Henri Cordier of Paris, and another address by the representative of the American Historical Association, Professor Charles H. Haskins of Harvard.

On the evening before the first session, the officers of the congress gave a general reception at the Grafton Galleries, which had been made the general headquarters. On the next evening, the British government, represented by Earl Beauchamp, First Commissioner of works, and Mr. Joseph Pease, President of the Board of Education, gave in the imposing banqueting-hall of the Hotel Cecil a brilliant dinner, to some four hundred of the members, at which speeches in response to toasts were made by Count Alexis

Bobrinski, Dr. Felix Liebermann, and the Master of Peterhouse (Dr. A. W. Ward), and which was followed by a more general reception. On the succeeding evening, tickets for a splendid performance of *Hamlet* by Forbes Robertson and his company, at the historic Drury Lane Theatre, were placed at the disposal of the guests; on another, tickets to Professor Geddes's *Masque of Learning*; on another, a large number of members were invited to a very agreeable dinner at the Lyceum Club, the most notable women's club of London. On the Saturday afternoon the members enjoyed the hospitality of King George at Windsor Castle, though the king himself, on account of mourning for his uncle the King of the Hellenes, was unable to be present.

The list of private dinners, and of entertainments and opportunities necessarily confined to a smaller number, but distributed by the committee with great thoughtfulness, would be a still longer one. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Davidson gave a reception at Lambeth Palace; the Dean of Westminster entertained at the Abbey. The Dukes of Westminster and Wellington, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Earl of Ellesmere, admitted members to an inspection of the art-treasures of Grosvenor House, Apsley House, Lansdowne House, and Bridgewater House. Sir Courtenay Ilbert, clerk to the House of Commons, twice conducted parties through the Houses of Parliament. The Royal Historical Society kept open house. The Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records (Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte), the Director of the British Museum (Sir Frederick Kenyon), the Constable of the Tower, the Master of the Temple, the Master of the Charterhouse, the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Vice-Provost of Eton College, made occasions for exhibiting with much hospitality the historic establishments committed to their charge. The Chilean minister (Señor Don Agustin Edwards), Sir George and Lady Trevelyan, Mr. John Murray and others gave receptions; and on the final evening there was a very pleasant subscription dinner at the Great Central Hotel, where representatives of various nationalities embraced the opportunity to express with warmth and enthusiasm their sense of all that had been so generously done to make the congress enjoyable and memorable.

Even with the ending of the congress, however, hospitality did not end. The next day there were visits to Cambridge and Oxford, where a large number of members were entertained to dinner, at Cambridge by the Master of Peterhouse in the hall of that college, at Oxford by the teachers of history and law, in the hall of All Souls. A certain number also took part in an excursion to Bath, to the Cheddar caverns and Glastonbury under the guidance of Pro-

fessor Boyd Dawkins, and to Wells, and were agreeably entertained by the mayor of Bath and by the Bishop and the Dean of Wells.

Let it not be thought that too much has been made of these social pleasures. It is chiefly through them, on such an occasion, that one obtains that increase of acquaintance, that friendship with other members of one's profession, that constitute one of the chief reasons for the existence of international congresses. In a science in which the human element plays so large a part as in history, to meet and talk with, perhaps, several score of those with whom one has corresponded or whose books one has read, is a long help toward the due understanding of what one reads; and if we hope that the diffusion of historical knowledge will be a powerful promoter of international good-will, it is surely of great importance that those in each country who have that diffusion in charge should have and use the means for personal friendship. To have come into personal contact with Doctors Ward and Mahaffy and Cunningham, Cordier and Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and Lamprecht, to name only some of the elder figures, or even to have seen them and heard them talk, is something more than a mere pleasure. More of that pleasure and profit might have been had if there had been easier means of finding members, inevitably much scattered through a great city, or if it had not been for the English "custom" of not introducing, but they were had in a very rewarding measure.

It is understood that about eleven hundred members were registered. As to the representation of the various nationalities, one's only guide at the present time is the early provisional list existing in proof and embracing 680 names. Of these, 450, two-thirds, are British. Something like 65 are German, 30 from Russia (but including a number of Poles), 25 from Austria-Hungary, and only 22 from France, hardly more than from the Netherlands and Belgium together, and not twice as many as from Scandinavia. Twenty persons are known to have been present from the United States—more than might have been expected in April.

The formal sessions of the congress began on the morning of Thursday, April 3, and continued through Tuesday, April 8, ending with a session for the transaction of business, on the following morning. The opening session took place in the Great Hall of Lincoln's Inn, a noble and historic hall. Here the permanent organization was effected. Mr. James Bryce had been designated as president, but his duties as British ambassador in Washington could not be concluded in time to enable him to be present, and, though he was formally made president, the Master of Peterhouse, Dr. A. W. Ward, was chosen to act in his place as presiding officer. The

long list of vice-presidents, usual on such occasions in Europe, was duly passed, and the organization of sections was provided for. After graceful introductory words, Dr. Ward read the presidential address which Mr. Bryce, with a message of regret for his absence, had sent across the Atlantic.

Mr. Bryce took up first the appropriate topic of the expansion of range which in the last two generations the study of history has undergone. Among the causes of this expansion he dwelt especially upon the opening up of three new fields of investigation, which have not only provided new materials for our study, but have incidentally affected our view of the way in which the old materials ought to be handled. For one, the study of primitive man has given us data which extend the history of mankind from the bronze age back to neolithic times, and from them back into one palaeolithic age after another, and thus through a period each division of which is longer than all the time that has elapsed since our first historical records begin. In the second place, the last sixty years, with their excavations in Egypt, in western Asia, and in the lands about the Aegæan, have added to our knowledge of early Mediterranean civilizations more than did all the centuries that had passed since the days of Macedonian and Roman conquest and thus have given a new aspect and background to the classical history of Greece and Rome. Thirdly, the progress of modern geographical discovery, and of conquest and settlement, by bringing within our ken the habits and manners, the religious ideas and rudimentary political institutions, of a large number of backward races and tribes scattered over the earth, has given us a fuller and more lively idea both of primeval savagery and of the state of those more advanced barbarian tribes whom the ancient authorities describe as they found them lying outside the bounds of the classical world.

Next, speaking from the vantage-ground of his observations as an assiduous traveller, Mr. Bryce adverted to the ethnical changes that are going on in the present-day world outside of Europe—the weaker or more backward races changing or vanishing under the impact of civilized man, their languages disappearing, their religious beliefs withering, their tribal organizations dissolving, their customs fading slowly away, first from use and then from memory—and urged upon historians the duty of seizing betimes these vanishing phenomena, and extracting from them whatever light they can cast upon such obscure historical processes as those by which races have been differentiated from one another, or those by which tribal communities have been formed, or have coalesced into nations.

Finally, the president of the congress—chosen to that position,

we may assume, as best representing the cosmopolitan spirit in the historical thinking of England—drew the attention of his hearers to the rapid process by which the modern world is becoming one. A few languages, a few religions, a few great powers, are taking the place once occupied by manifold diversity. Movements of politics, of economics and finance, and of thought, in each region of the world, become more closely interwoven with those of every other. History tends to become the history of mankind as a whole, and the historian will have increasing need of amplitude of conception and power of combination. Meanwhile the students of history, led by their studies to look further back and more widely around than most of their fellow-citizens can do, and knowing better than most men how great is the debt each nation owes to the other, how essential to the advancement of each is the greatness and the welfare of the others and the common friendship of all, are under especial obligation to become a bond of sympathy between peoples, to reduce every source of international ill-feeling, and to point the way to peace and good-will throughout the world.

The acting president followed with supplementary remarks, chiefly devoted to a review of the improvements made during the last half-century in respect of aids to historical progress—the opening and exploitation of archives, the institution of historical publishing commissions and societies, the growth of historical instruction in universities and schools, the increase of reference-works and of journals.² On behalf of the delegates to the congress, Professor von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff of the Prussian Academy made with his accustomed felicity and eloquence a brief address appreciative of the words of welcome, and was followed by M. Henri Cordier of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres and by Mr. Charles Francis Adams of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Sir George Trevelyan, in a happy speech, moved the vote of thanks to the president and acting-president and the proposal confirming their election, and was supported by the Greek minister (M. Jean Gennadios) and the minister of Chile.

Of general sessions for the reading of papers there were two, the first held in the same stately hall of Lincoln's Inn, the second in one of the large halls of the University of London at South Kensington. In the first, the veteran Professor Ernst Bernheim of Greifswald, whose pupil through his *Lehrbuch* we all are, read a closely reasoned paper on "Die Interpretation aus den Zeitan-schau-

² A pamphlet printed by the Oxford University Press contains Mr. Bryce's presidential address and the introductory and supplementary remarks of Dr. Ward.

ungen". Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent, in an oral discourse which we hope to be able at a later time to present to our readers in written form, discussed the social stages of the evolution of capitalism from the twelfth century to the nineteenth, but especially those of the medieval period, controverting Sombart, and setting forth brilliantly, with the aid of Flemish and other examples, his views of the origin of medieval cities in northern Europe and of the growth of capitalism in them. An allied topic was later treated by him in a paper read before one of the sections of the congress, on the relations of *grand commerce* to medieval urban economy, in which he urged that current views of medieval *Stadtewirtschaft* had been based too largely on the study of the craft-gild period, too little on considerations derived from the preceding period of capitalistic commerce. In the general session his address was followed by one, of much vigor and breadth of view, in which Professor Otto von Gierke of Berlin discussed the historical development, chiefly in Germany, of the principle of control by majority of votes, which he traced from the conception of unanimity as requisite, through the fellowship-conception (*Genossenschaftsbegriff*) to the corporation-conception, formulated by legists and canonists, to the doctrines based on the theory of the social contract, and to the present time, exhibiting the principle as one of only historical and relative value.

In this same general session Mr. R. J. Whitwell of Oxford submitted proposals for a new dictionary of medieval Latin, a task which would be in an appalling degree an *œuvre de longue haleine*; at a later session it was appropriately relegated to the British Academy for consideration, but it could not be hopefully undertaken with resources less formidable than those of the International Union of Academies.

In the second general session of the congress Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin gave a conversational account of the work of the past generation in research in ancient history. Professor Lappo-Danilevski of the St. Petersburg Academy read a valuable paper on the evolution of the idea of the state in Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, beginning with the religious idea of the state laid down by the Orthodox church in the times before the czar Alexis, and tracing its gradual secularization, through the influence of Renaissance and Reformation and the later doctrines of natural law, and through the infiltration of the views of Grotius, Hobbes, Puffendorf, and other Occidental publicists, down to Peter the Great and the constitutional projects of 1730. Professor Lamprecht of Leipzig followed with a survey of the recent currents of intellectual development in Germany, and Professor Jorga of Bucharest

with an argument, not universally convincing, that the history of the Middle Ages, heretofore related from a false point of view, needed to be remade in the light of generalizations which he deemed both novel and conclusive.

But, as on former occasions, it had been found necessary, in justice to all the various interests involved, to divide the congress into sections, each organized with its presiding officer, vice-presidents, and secretary; and, apart from the papers which have been described, most of its operations went on in sectional meetings. While the arrangement of the sections followed in general the model of the Berlin congress, there were some characteristic variations. The chief of these lay in the increase of the number of sections from eight to nine by substituting, for the one section which at Berlin had embraced the whole of the political history of both medieval and modern times, two sections, one occupied with medieval history, the other with modern. Colonial history, to which it was natural to pay much attention in an historical congress held in the capital of the British empire, and military and naval history, were attached to the latter, but as sub-sections. There were some other instances of organized sub-sections. The general scheme of sections was the following: I. Oriental history, including Egyptology; II. Greek and Roman history, and Byzantine history; III. Medieval history; IV. Modern history, including the history of colonies and dependencies and naval and military history; V. Religious and ecclesiastical history; VI. Legal and economic history (two autonomous sub-sections, which might well on future occasions be made separate sections); VII. History of medieval and modern civilization; VIII. Archaeology, with prehistoric studies and ancient art (the Berlin scheme had provided a section for *Kunstgeschichte* in general); IX. Related and auxiliary sciences. Perhaps it was only the sub-section for military and naval history whose programme can be said to have been organized with a view to promoting a specific practical result. Here a definite purpose was manifest to bring about, on the part of the British naval and military services, a more scientific study of the history of warfare, to bring historians and officers into closer relations and into co-operation, and to encourage, in the history of each war, the habit of combining the study of land and sea operations in one view. It should also be mentioned that two entire sessions of section VIII. were devoted to Russian subjects, making an impressive exhibition of the recent advances and results of archaeological exploration in southern Russia. In the other sections the programmes were made up, as committees on such occasions usually

have to make them up, without much approach to unity, of such papers as can be obtained from those who expect to attend.

Speaking of the sessions in general, it may be said that papers which by extraordinary originality and power were destined to alter signally the maps of their respective fields were not numerous; but the general level was high, and the total contribution to the science much more than respectable in quantity. There were no sections, and even few individual sessions of sections, that were not felt by those who attended them to have been profitable and interesting. The attendance in sections and sub-sections seems to have varied from fifteen to sixty members.

Something of significance might perhaps be derived from classification of the topics treated, but they would hardly be a guide as to present national tendencies, for there was a natural proclivity toward themes that might be of interest to an audience prevalingly English. Not only did forty of the British papers (which constituted more than half of the entire programme) relate to British history, but nearly twenty of the others. It was noteworthy that not more than half-a-dozen of the papers bore on diplomatic history, though it was the Société d'Histoire Diplomatique which brought into existence the first international historical congress and the field is one congenial to such occasions; and that not a sixth of the whole mass of papers related to the old staple field of political history in the conventional sense. An American could not help thinking it to be a strange fact that, of more than a hundred papers presented by British subjects, only one was concerned wholly, and another partially, with the history of the United States, a country embracing nearly two-thirds of the English-speaking population of the globe.

The diversity of languages produced some of the same difficulties it has always produced since the unfortunate experiment of Babel, but of course, in view of the better European instruction in modern languages, much less than would have been experienced in a similar American assemblage. Two-thirds of the papers were read in English, about 35 in French, about 25 in German, two in Italian. These four were the recognized languages of the meeting. The rules of the Berlin congress had permitted the reading of papers in either German, French, English, Italian, or Latin. An interesting episode of the present congress was the presentation to members, in the shape of a pamphlet, in Russian and French, of a formal protest against the exclusion of Russian.³ This document, prepared by Professor N. Bubnov of the University of Kiev, had been ap-

³ *Les Titres Scientifiques de la Langue Russe pour l'Admission de la Langue Russe dans les Congrès Historiques Internationaux* (Kiev, 1913).

proved by the philosophical faculty and the council of his university, and forwarded by them to the congress for its consideration. On the general ground, Professor Bubnov maintained that the only defensible course was to leave each *savant* free to speak in what tongue he might choose; good sense and the desire to be understood would form a sufficient check upon vagaries. Speaking specifically for Russian, he argued with great warmth against the slight put upon it by exclusion, against an assumed doctrine that it was not a "civilized" speech, and, more appropriately, that the work of Russian scholars in Russian history, in Byzantine history, and in the whole history of eastern Europe (to say nothing of what they had done in the economic history of the West) had attained such dimensions and quality that to exclude their language from an international historical congress would bar it from any but a most defective and conventional consideration of that whole great field. At the close of the congress, as will be seen, the question quietly settled itself.

To give, in one article of moderate length, an account of two hundred scientific papers is manifestly impossible. The mere desire to hear any large number of them, a desire natural to anyone not hopelessly specialized, was sufficient to induce feelings of despair; but such is, as we all know, the nature of congresses held in sections. No convenient place had been found in London where under one roof so many as nine (and at times thirteen or fourteen) separate sections of historical folk could hold simultaneous meetings. Six of them could however be contained in rooms adjacent to each other in Burlington House, to wit, in the rooms of the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Astronomical Society, and the Chemical, Geological, and Linnean societies. To go from one to another of these sections, if need required, was therefore not difficult; it was harder in the case of sections which met at places so remote or scattered as University College, King's College, the Old Hall of Lincoln's Inn (legal section), or the Royal United Service Institution in Whitehall (colonial, military and naval).

But printed summaries of most of the papers were at hand⁴ (a provision, by the way, which much facilitated genuine discussion, and which should be more largely introduced at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association); and while it is not expected that the executive committee of the congress will be able to do much in the way of publication, doubtless many of the more valuable papers will in one way or another find their way into print. Unless the congress exercises its prior rights, this journal expects to

⁴ A complete set of these summaries is preserved at the office of this journal, and will be placed in various ways at the service of those interested.

have the pleasure of printing, not only the contribution of Professor Pirenne already mentioned, but also those of Professor Dietrich Schäfer of Berlin on the Sound-Dues as a Source of International History, of Mr. Goddard H. Orpen on the Effects of Norman Rule in Ireland, 1169-1333, of Professor Hume Brown of Edinburgh on the Intellectual Influences of Scotland on the Continent in the Eighteenth Century, of Professor Arnold Meyer of Rostock on Charles I. and Rome, of Dr. A. J. Carlyle on the Sources of Medieval Political Theory and its Connection with Medieval Politics, and in some form that of Sir Charles Lucas on Some Historical Problems in the West Indies; perhaps also others.⁵

Of contributions not already named, one may perhaps mention, as especially notable: in section I., the discourses of Professors A. A. Macdonell of Oxford and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt of Liverpool, on the Early History of Caste and on the Historical Position of Armenia in Ancient Times, respectively; in section II., Professor Otto Seeck on "Die letzte Waffengang des Römischen Heidentums"; in section III., the papers of Professors N. Bubnov and R. Davidsohn, the former on the legend of Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II., the latter on the "spring-time of Florentine culture"; in the legal sub-section, Sir Frederick Pollock on the Transformation of Equity and Professor Esmein of Paris on the maxim "Princeps legibus solutus est" in old French law; and in the economic sub-section, Professor Charles M. Andrews's paper, which won warm commendations, on Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry, 1700-1750.

American readers may be interested to know what were the American contributions to this varied banquet. In addition to the papers of Professor Andrews and Dr. Hazeltine, named above and below, they were as follows: the Government of Normandy under Henry II., by Professor Haskins; the Orgy of Tiberius at Capri, by Mr. T. Spencer Jerome of that island; the Relation of the United States to the Philippine Islands, by Professor Bernard Moses of the University of California, formerly a member of the governing commission of that dependency;⁶ Contemporaneous European Action on the Monroe Declaration, by Mr. Dexter Perkins; Historiometry, a

⁵ Other papers known to be on their way to publication are, those of Professor Eduard Meyer on the Representation of Foreign Races on the Egyptian Monuments (Prussian Academy), of Mr. H. W. C. Davis on Canon Law and the Church of England (*Church Quarterly Review*), of Dr. Harold D. Hazeltine on the Early History of English Equity, of Dr. Felix Liebermann on the National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon State, of Professor Alexander Cartellieri on "Philipp August und der Zusammenbruch des Angevinischen Reiches"; and a selection, in one volume, from the papers of section IV.

⁶ See the *Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1913.

New Method in the Science of History, by Dr. F. A. Woods; and Typical Steps of American Expansion, by J. F. Jameson.

The conviction has not been concealed, in this brief account, that the act and fact of meeting were of more importance than the scientific content of the papers, many of which would in any case have been produced; yet the scientific product was both extensive and valuable. In definite achievements by framing or promoting important international undertakings, these international historical congresses have hitherto borne no considerable fruit, have indeed accomplished much less than, with a more truly international permanent organization, they might easily have done. In the business session with which this present congress was concluded, little more was transacted than the selection of the next place of meeting. Official invitations had been received from St. Petersburg and from Athens. In view of its priority and of the number of Russians present to support it, it was natural that the former should be accepted. The international historical congress of 1918 will therefore take place at St. Petersburg. The vote to that effect was accompanied with a resolution, somewhat gratuitous as it appeared to the transatlantic observer, instructing the executive committee to consider the question of adding Russian to the list of languages permitted for papers and discussions. It is not conceivable that an international historical congress should be held in St. Petersburg without the fullest freedom in the use of the Russian language, and those who think of attending, and wish to derive full profit from doing so, may as well address themselves at once, with such courage as they can muster, to the painful assault upon that formidable tongue.

It was natural for those Americans who have attended this or previous international historical congresses, and has had their shares of what Rome or Berlin or London have done in promoting the success of those gatherings, to wish that it might soon be the good fortune of the United States to entertain one. Doubtless the journey would seem difficult to many historians, and after going to St. Petersburg in 1918 it may be natural to wish to assemble in 1923 in some capital more central to western Europe, and the summer climate of Washington, or any other American city, would seem too hot to even the most philosophical of European historians; but if the spring vacations of European universities continue to be as ample in 1928 as now, we may well cherish the hope of entertaining that spring in our own capital the eighth international congress of historical science.

In the way of preparation for the future, the present meeting

went no farther than to appoint a small British executive committee, to act till a special committee of organization for the new congress should be brought into existence. The executive committee which had been in function during the six days of the congress had been fortified by a certain number of non-British members from the various sections. It is to be hoped, in the interest of proper future development and usefulness of the congress as an institution, as well as in the more immediate interest of catholic judgments on matters concerning the next congress in particular, that in its preliminary organization means may be taken toward creating at least a relatively permanent advisory committee of representatives of various nations, which on each quinquennial occasion may act with the national body entrusted with the immediate proceedings. Such a step, toward which indeed some suggestion was made by the expiring committee, would aid to give continuity of regulations and policy, and might ultimately make the congress a potent means, not merely as now of international friendship but of international achievement.

It was announced that, if more could not be done in the way of publication, at least a volume would be brought out containing the addresses of the president and acting president of this London congress, a general record of its organization and proceedings, and the summaries already mentioned as having been distributed in connection with the reading of the papers.⁷ Then the congress dissolved, with many formal and informal words of appreciation for the labor, the thoughtfulness, and the hospitality which had been expended in making it so distinguished a success. None, it is certain, were more cordial in the feeling of gratitude than the Americans, to whom English welcome had been especially abundant, and for whom London and England have stronger associations and richer sources of feeling than they can have for nations who do not owe to England their existence.

J. F. J.

⁷ Also, the British Academy will be requested to publish in its proceedings such papers as were presented by fellows or corresponding members of that body. On the papers in modern history, see also note 5, above.

THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

Two great questions front all students of the social sciences: What happened? Why? History attempts to deal mainly with the first. It gathers the scattered traces of events and fills the archives of civilization with their records. Its science sifts the evidence and prepares the story. Its art recreates the image of what has been, and "old, forgotten far-off things" become once more the heritage of the present. Though no magic touch can wholly restore the dead past, history satisfies in considerable part the curiosity which asks "What happened?" But "Why?" What forces have been at work to move the latent energies of nations, to set going the march of events? What makes our revolutions or our tory reactions? Why did Rome fall, Christianity triumph, feudalism arise, the Inquisition flourish, monarchy become absolute and of divine right, Spain decline, England emerge, democracy awaken and grow potent? Why did these things happen when or where they did? Was it the direct intervention of an overruling Providence, for whose purposes the largest battalions were always on the move? Or are the ways past finding out? Do the events themselves reveal a meaning?

These are not simply questions for philosophers. Children insist upon them most. He is a lucky story-teller, whose Jack-the-Giant-Killer or Robin Hood is not cut through, time and again, by the unsatisfied curiosity as to *why* the beanstalk grew so high, *why* Jack wanted to climb, *why* Robin Hood lived under a greenwood tree, etc. Many a parental Herodotus has been wrecked on just such grounds. The problem for the philosopher or scientist is just the same as that brought forward by the child. The drama of history unrolls before our eyes in more sober form; our Robin Hoods become Garibaldis, our Jack-the-Giant-Killer a Napoleon, but we still have to ask how fortune and genius so combined to place southern Italy in the hands of the one, Europe at the feet of the other. Not only is the problem the same, but we answer it in the same way. Here, at once, we have a clue to the nature of interpretation. For anyone knows that you answer the child's "Why?" by telling another story. Each story is, in short, an explanation, and each explanation a story. The school-boy's excuse for being late is that he couldn't find his cap. He couldn't find his cap *because* he was playing in the barn. Each incident was a cause and each cause an incident in his biography. In like manner most of the reasons we assign for our acts merely state

an event or a condition of affairs which is in itself a further page of history. At last, however, there comes a point where the philosopher and the child part company. History is more than events. It is the manifestation of life, and behind each event is some effort of mind and will, while within each circumstance exists some power to stimulate or obstruct. Hence psychology and economics are called upon to explain the events themselves. The child is satisfied if you account for the career of Napoleon by a word "genius", but that merely opens the problem to the psychologist. The child in us all attributes the overthrow to the hollow squares of Waterloo, but the economist reminds us of the Continental system and the Industrial Revolution which made Waterloo possible.

The process of interpreting history, therefore, involves getting as much as possible out of history, psychology, and economics—using economics in the widest possible sense as the affective material background of life. This does not get to final causes, to be sure. It leaves the universe still a riddle. Theologians and metaphysicians are the only ones who attempt to deal with final causes as with final ends. Certainly historians cannot follow them in such speculations. The infinite lies outside experience, and experience is the sphere of history. When we talk of the interpretation of history, therefore, we do not mean its setting in the universe, but a knowledge of its own inner relationships. We confine ourselves to humanity and the theatre of its activities. But within this realm of mystery man exists, acts, and thinks—or thinks he does—which is all the same for historians; and these thoughts and deeds remain mostly understood, even by the actors themselves. Here is mystery enough, but mystery which is not in itself unknowable but merely unknown. The social sciences do not invade the field of religion; they have nothing to do with the ultimate; their problems are those of the City of Man, not of the City of God. So the interpretation of history can leave theology aside, except where theology attempts to become historical. Then it must face the same criticism as all other histories. If the City of God is conceived of as a creation of the processes of civilization, it becomes as much a theme for scientific analysis as the Roman Empire or the Balkan Confederacy. If theology substitutes itself for science it must expect the same treatment as science. But our search for historic "causes" is merely a search for other things of the same kind—natural phenomena of some sort—which lie in direct and apparently inevitable connection. We interpret history by knowing more of it, bringing to bear our psychology and every other auxiliary to open up each intricate relationship between men, situations, and events.

This is our first great principle. What do we mean by the "meaning" of anything but more knowledge of it? In physics or chemistry we enlarge our ideas of phenomena by observing how they work, what are their affinities, how they combine or react. But all these properties are merely different sides of the same thing, and our knowledge of it is the sum total of our analysis. Its meaning has changed, as our knowledge enlarges, from a lump of dirt to a compound of elements. No one asks what an element is, because no one can tell—except in terms of other elements. The interpretation, therefore, of physical phenomena is a description of them in terms of their own properties. The same thing is true of history, only instead of description we have narrative. For history differs from the natural sciences in this fundamental fact, that while they consider phenomena from the standpoint of Space, history deals with them from the standpoint of Time. Its data are in eternal change, moving in endless succession. Time has no static relationships, not so much as for a second. One moment merges into the next, and another has begun before the last is ended. The old Greeks already pointed out that one could never put his foot twice into the same waters of a running stream, and never has philosophy insisted more eloquently upon this fluid nature of Time than in the writings of Professor Bergson. But whatever Time may be in the last analysis it is clear that whereas physics states the meaning of the phenomena with which it deals in descriptions, history must phrase its interpretations in narrative—the narrative which runs with passing time.

Hence history and its interpretation are essentially one, if we mean by history all that has happened, including mind and matter in so far as they relate to action. Any other kind of interpretation is unscientific. It eludes analysis because it does not itself analyze, and hence it eludes proof. So theological dogma, which may or may not be true, and speculation in metaphysics are alike outside our problem. Indeed, when we come down to it, there is little difference between "What has happened?" and "Why?" The "Why?" only opens up another "What?" Take for example a problem in present history: "Why has the price of living gone up?" The same question might be asked another way: "What has happened to raise prices?" The change in the form of sentence does not solve anything, for who knows what has happened? But it puts us upon a more definite track toward our solution. We test history by history.

Now the earliest historical narrative is the myth. It is at the same time an explanation. It is no mere product of imagination, of the play of art with the wayward fancies of childlike men. Myths, real genuine myths—not Homeric epics composed for sophisticated,

critical audiences—are statements of “facts” to the believer. They are social outputs, built up out of experience and fitted to new experiences. The long canoes are swept to sea by the northeast hurricane, and year by year in the winter nights at the camp-fires of those who go by long canoes the story is repeated, over and over again, until the sea is left behind or a new race brings triremes with machinery in the inside. So long as the old society exists under the old conditions the myth perpetuates itself; but it also gathers into it the reflex of the changing history. It therefore embodies the belief of the tribe, and this gives it an authority beyond the reach of any primitive higher criticism. Appealed to as the “wisdom of our fathers”, as the universally accepted and therefore true—*quod semper quod ab omnibus*—it becomes a sort of creed for its people. More than a creed, it is as unquestioned as the world around and life itself. The eagle of Prometheus or of the Zuñi myths is as much a part of the world to Greeks and Zuñis as the eagle seen yonder on the desert-rim. The whole force of society is on the side of myth. The unbeliever is ostracized or put to death. What would have happened to the man who should have dared to question the literal narrative of Genesis in the thirteenth century, has happened in some form in every society. The Inquisition, we are told, was merely a refinement of lynch law. In any case it would never have been effective without popular support. The heretics of all ages suffer because the faith they challenge is the treasured possession of their society, a heritage in which resides the mysterious efficacy of immemorial things.

Now it is a strange fact that most of our beliefs begin in prior belief. It does not sound logical, but it remains true that we get to believing a thing from believing it. Belief is the basic element in thought. It starts with consciousness itself. Once started, there develops a tendency—“a will”—to keep on. Indeed it is almost the strongest tendency in the social mind. Only long scientific training can keep an individual alert with doubt, or, in other words, keep him from merging his own beliefs in those of his fellows. This is the reason myth has so long played so momentous a rôle in the history of the human intelligence—by far the largest of any one element in our whole history. Science was born but yesterday. Myths are millenniums old. And they are as young to-day as in the glacial period. Heroes and victims share the stage of the drama of history with those uncanny Powers that mock at effort or exalt the weak, and trick with sudden turns the stately progress of society. Wherever the marvellous event is explained by causes more marvellous still, where the belief is heightened by basing it upon deeper

mysteries, we are following the world-old method of explaining by the inexplicable.

Now myths are unsatisfactory as explanations for various reasons, but the main one is that human events are subordinated to the supernatural in which they are set. This means that normal events of daily life are generally passed unnoticed, and attention is concentrated upon the unusual and abnormal. It is in these that the divine or diabolic intervenes. They are pre-eminently—as we still say of railway accidents—acts of God. So the myth neither tells a full story, with all the human data involved, nor directs to any natural sequence of events. Sickness and consequent catastrophe are not attributed to malarial mosquitoes—such as filled the temples of Aesculapius with suppliants and depleted Greece of citizens. All misfortune is due to broken taboos. When Roman armies are defeated the question is “Who has sinned and how?” When death comes to the Australian bushman, there is always black magic to account for it. And pontiffs and medicine men elaborate the mythology which explains and justifies the taboos.

That is not to say that myths are the creations of priests. The creation is the work of the society itself. The priest merely elaborates. The initial belief resides in the nerves of primitive men, the fear of the uncanny, the vague apprehension which still chills us in the presence of calamity. Social suggestion is responsible for much of it—we tremble when we see the rigid fear on the faces of those beside us. When someone whispers in the dark, “Isn’t it awful?” “It” suddenly thrills into being, like a ghost. Voltaire was wrong to attribute the origin of these beliefs of superstition to priestcraft. The priest merely took hold of the universal beliefs of his people and gave them form and consistency, as the minstrel wove them into poetry. The scruple about entering the dark wooded slopes beyond the village grain-fields is enough to people it, for most of us, with all uncanny things. If you are the kind of person to have scruples about entering a wood by night, you are the kind to appreciate the possibilities of lurking danger in its shadows and moving presences in its thickets. So on a night, when the moon is high and the wind is still, you may hear the hounds and the wolf-packs of the wild hunters—of Diana and Mars. It needs no priestly college to convince us of that. The wood and the wolves and our own nerves are enough. But the priestly college develops the things of night into the stuff for history; and centuries after the howling wolves have disappeared from the marshes around Rome the city cherishes, to the close of its history, the myth of its founding.

Men first tell stories. Then they think about them. So from mythology, the ancients proceeded to philosophy. Now philosophy is a wide word. For some of us it means keen criticism of fundamental things. For others it is a befuddled consideration of unrealities. But whatever it may be now, philosophy came into the antique world as science, critical analysis, and history was but another name for it. The "inquiry" of those Ionian logographi who began to question Homer, in the sixth century before Christ, was a challenge and interpretation of myth. So, all through its history, history has demanded of its students denial rather than acceptance, scepticism rather than belief, in order that the story of men and empires be more than a myth. But the tendency to believe and accept is so strongly impressed upon us from immemorial social pressures that few have risen to the height of independent judgment which was the Greek ideal. Criticism, in the full sense of the word, is an interpretation. To reject a story means that one constructs another in its place. It establishes that certain things did not happen because certain other ones did. So the Greeks corrected myths, and in doing this made history more rational. Man came into the story more and the gods receded.

One may distinguish two phases of philosophic interpretation of history, that in which the philosophy is in reality a theology and that in which it is natural science. In the first phase we are still close to myth. Myth places the cause of events in Mystery of some sort—deities, demons, the Fates, or Fortune. Early philosophy proceeds upon these assumptions, which also penetrate most antique histories. Even Polybius, hard-headed, much-experienced man of the world, cannot quite attribute to natural causes the rise of Rome. Fortune, that wayward goddess of Caesar, had something to do with it—how much it would be hard to say. Livy had this myth-philosophy to the full; every disaster had its portent, every triumph its omen. This was the practical philosophy of all but the few calm thinkers whose scepticism passed into the second phase, which reached all the way from an open question whether or not the gods interfered in human affairs to the positive denial of their influence. The great source-book for such interpretations of history is Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods*, where one may find in the guise of a theological discussion a résumé of the various pagan philosophies of history. For the philosophies of history were more frankly philosophy than history; the question at issue was the intruding mystery rather than the circumstances of the intrusion, and one denied or affirmed mainly on *à priori* grounds. The denial was not historical criticism and the philosophy of doubt hardly more genuine historical interpretation

than the philosophy of belief. Its conclusions more nearly *coincide* with the demands of scientific research; that is all. But mythology was not lightly to be got rid of, even among philosophers, and as for the populace, it merely exchanged one myth for another, until finally it could take refuge in theology. The bold infidelity of a Lucretius was too modern for the age which was to give birth to Christianity, and the Voltaires of antiquity were submerged in a rising sea of faith.

Moreover there were two reasons why antique philosophy could not accomplish much. It lacked the instruments by which to penetrate into the two centres of its problem: psychology, to analyze the mind, and experimental laboratories, to analyze the setting of life or life itself. It had some knowledge of psychology, to be sure, and some experimental science, but relatively little; and it never realized the necessity for developing them. It sharpened the reason to an almost uncanny degree, and played, like a grown athlete, with ideas. But it followed the ideas into their ideal world and left this world unaccounted for. Above all, it knew practically nothing of economic and material elements in history. Even a Thucydides has no glimpse of the intimate connection between the forces of economics and of politics. History for him is made by *men*, not by grain-fields and metals. It was not until the nineteenth century—just the other day—that economic factors in historical causation were emphasized as playing a rôle comparable to that of man himself. Thucydides did not realize how commercial and industrial competition could rouse the rivals of Athens to seek her overthrow. Polybius felt that Fortune was a weak excuse to offer for Rome's miraculous rise and fell back upon the peculiar excellence of her constitution. Both were rationalists of a high order, but they never extended their history—and therefore their interpretation—beyond politics. The gods tend to disappear, and mankind to take their place. But it is an incomplete mankind, rational beings moved by ideas and principles; not economic animals moved by blind wants and fettered by the basest limitations. In short, a political man is the farthest analysis one gets. But even Aristotle never knew how many things there were in politics besides politics. The extent of the interplay of material forces upon psychological lay outside his ken.

Upon the whole, then, there is almost nothing to learn from antique interpretations of history. They interest us because of their antiquity and their drift from the supernatural to the natural. But they did not achieve a method which would open up the natural and let us see its working. They are of no service to us in our own interpretations.

Christianity dropped all this rationalist tone of the Greeks, and turned the keen edge of Greek philosophy to hew a structure so vast in design, so simple in outline, that the whole world could understand and none escape. History was but the realization of religion—not of various religions, but of one; the working out of one divine plan. It was a vast, supernatural process, more God's than man's. It was no longer a play of rival forces, the gods of Rome against those of Veii or the Baalim against Jahve. But from all eternity the drama had been determined by the Wisdom that was infinite, and it was being wrought out by an almighty arm. Baal and Jupiter are creatures and puppets, like mere men. History has only one interpretation. Rome—city and empire—is the spoil of the barbarian, the antique world is going to pieces, all its long heritage of culture, its millenniums of progress, its arts and sciences are perishing in the vast, barbaric anarchy: why? There is one answer, sufficient, final—God wills it. No uncertain guesses as to the virtue of peoples, weights of battalions, resources of countries, pressures of populations, wasteful administrations, black deaths, impoverished provinces. There is sin to be punished. The pagan temples of the ancient world, with their glories of art shining on every acropolis, are blasphemy and invite destruction. Philosophers and poets whose inspiration had once seemed divine now seem diabolic. Those who catch the vision of the new faith, shake off the old world as one shakes off a dream. Talk of revolutions! No doctrines of the rights of man have caught the imagination with such terrific force as these doctrines of the rights of God, which from Paul to Augustine were clothed with all the convincing logic of Hellenic genius and Roman realism. It is hard for us Christians to realize the amount of religion which Christianity injected into the world; not merely among the credulous populace, on the religious *qui vive*, but among thinking men. It saturated philosophy with dogma and turned speculation from nature to the supernatural.

The earliest Christians cherished above all other convictions that of the speedy end of the world and lived under the very shadow of the day of doom. As time went on, this millennial hope seemed to grow fainter; but in reality it merely took a more rigid form. It became the structural heart of the new theology. The pageant of history, which had seemed so gloriously wonderful, so inspiring to a Polybius back in the old heroic days, was now a worn and sorry thing. It had no glory nor even any meaning except in the light of the new dispensation. On the other hand the new *patria*, the *Civitas Dei*, transcending all earthly splendor, was absorbing, not merely the present and the future, but the past as well. For all the

tragic lines of war and suffering were now converging. All the aimless struggling was now to show its hidden purpose. In Christianity, the story of nations, of politics, economics, art, war, law—in short of civilization—culminated, and ceased!

Such was the thought which underlay all Christian apologetic theology from the first. But it received its classic statement in the *City of God* by Augustine, written when the city of Rome had fallen, and—if it were not for the heretics and the barbarians—the claims of theology seemed almost realizable. For a thousand years and more it was the unquestioned interpretation of the meaning of history, easily adaptable to any circumstance because it covered all. It still is found wherever pure theology satisfies historical curiosity. That includes—or has included—not merely theologians but most other people, for however slight has been the interest in theology it has been greater than the interest in scientific history, at least until recent times. Religion has supplied the framework of our thought, and the picture of our evolution. The real historians of Europe have been the parish priests. In every hamlet, however remote, for the lowly as for those of high degree, they have repeated the story week after week, century after century. Greek *historikoi* and medieval minstrels, even the modern novels, can hardly match their influence upon the mind of the mass of men. Their tale itself was an unrivalled epic, dark with the supreme central tragedy upon which Christendom itself rested, rising to the keenest voicing of the hopes of life. Its very element was miracle. No fairy story could rival its devious turns, while at the same time the theme swept over the whole path of history—so far as they knew or cared. It was the story of a chosen people, of divine governance from creation to the founding of their own church, guarded in a sacred book and interpreted from a sacred tongue.

Slowly, however, the setting of the Church had changed. The vision of the day of judgment died away almost altogether. Men who dared to dream apocalypses—like Joachim of Flora—or their followers were judged heretics by a church which had planted itself *in seculo* and surrounded itself with all the pomp and circumstances of temporal power. There was still a lingering echo of the older faith, heard most often in the solemn service for the dead. So long as the universe was ptolemaic—the world of Dante and of Milton—the heavy chord of *dies irae* would cut in upon the growing interest in the world itself. But once the crystalline sphere was shattered by Copernicus and Galileo, and the infinite spaces were strewn with stars like our own, the old idea of a world to “shrivel like a parched scroll” had to be revised and readjusted, and with it the simple

conception of the divine purpose, centred upon the centre of things, and working by direct intervention through constant miracle. There was no sudden revolution, the old ideas were too firmly fixed for that. Moreover, science began to challenge the theological history of the universe before it challenged the theological history of man himself. But when geology began to bring in evidence of the age of our residence, and physics achieved the incredible feat of weighing the forces and determining the conditions which held the worlds together, then the details of the scheme of Augustine had to be recast as well. From Augustine to Bossuet one may trace an almost unbroken line of theological interpretations. But some, at least, of the generation which listened to Bossuet were also to watch Bolingbroke and Voltaire whetting the weapons of rationalist attack.

Now what is the weakness of the theological interpretation of history? It is of the same character as that we have seen in the myth. The interpretation is outside of history altogether. Grant all that theology claims, that Rome fell and England arose, that America was discovered, or was so long undiscovered, because "God wills it". That does not enlarge our knowledge of the process. It satisfies only those who believe in absolutely unqualified Calvinism—and they are becoming few and far between. If man is a free agent, even to a limited degree, he can find the meaning of his history in the history itself—the only meaning which is of any value as a guide to conduct or as throwing light upon his actions. Intelligent inquiry has free scope within a universe of ever widening boundaries, where nature, and not supernature, presents its sober phenomena for patient study.

This patient study, however, had not yet been done when the eighteenth-century deists attacked the theological scheme, and their philosophy shares to some extent the weakness of the antique, in its ignorance of data. Natural law took the place of an intervening Providence; history was a process worked out by the forces of nature moving uniformly, restless but continuous, unchecked, inevitable. The process comprised all mankind; no chosen people, implying injustice to those not chosen; no miracles disturbing the regularity of nature. This was an advance toward future understanding because it concentrated attention upon nature and the method of evolution, but in itself it cast but little light upon the problem. For it did not explain details. One sees its failure most where it risked hypotheses with most assurance, in its treatment of religion. It would not do for philosophers to admit that religion—at least of the old, historic type—was itself one of the laws of nature, implanted in humanity from the beginning. Consequently it was for

them a creation of priestcraft. No dismissal of its claims could be more emphatic. Yet the old theologies have since proved that they have at least as many natural rights in society as the criticism of them, and now, with our new knowledge of primitive life, dominated by religion as we see it to be, we cast aside the rationalist conception as a distortion of history almost as misleading as those of the mythology it tried to dispose of.

But the work of Voltaire and his school, in disrupting the old authority of Church and Bible—bitterly denounced and blackly maligned as it has been—is now recognized by all thinking minds, at least by all leaders of thought, to have been an essential service in the emancipation of the human intellect. The old sense of authority could never afterwards, as before, block the free path of inquiry; and the era of Enlightenment, as it was fondly termed, did enlighten the path which history was to take if it was to know itself. The anti-clerical bias of Hume and Gibbon is perhaps all the casual reader perceives in them. But where among all previous historians does one find the attitude so genuinely historical? Moreover, in Hume we have the foundations of psychology, and a criticism of causality which was of the first importance. It would be tempting to linger over these pioneers of the scientific spirit, who saw but could not realize the possibilities of naturalism. Their own achievement, however, was so faulty in just this matter of interpretation, that it was not difficult for the reaction of the early nineteenth century to poke holes in their theories, and so discredit—for the time being—their entire outlook.

Before Voltaire had learned in England the main lines of his philosophy, a Scottish boy had been born in Königsberg, in Prussia, who was destined to exercise as high if not as extended a sovereignty over the intellect of the nineteenth century. Immanuel Kant, however, was of a different type. He fought no ringing fights with the old order. He simply created a new realm in metaphysics, where one could take refuge and have the world as his own. The *idea* dominates. Space and time, the *à priori* forms of all phenomena, lie within us. Mathematics are vindicated because the mind can really master relationships, and the reason emerges from its critique to grapple with the final problem of metaphysics. This at first sight has little to do with interpreting history, but it proved to have a great deal to do with it. The dominance of ideas became a fundamental doctrine among those who speculated concerning causation in history, and metaphysics all but replaced theology as an interpreter.

One sees this already in the work of the greatest historian of the nineteenth century, Leopold von Ranke. To him each age and

country is explicable only if one approaches it from the standpoint of its own *Zeitgeist*. But the spirit of a time is more than the temporal environment in which events are set. It is a determining factor, clothed with the creative potency of mind. Ranke did not develop this philosophic background of history, he accepted it and worked from rather than towards it. His *Zeitgeist* was a thing for historians to portray, not to speculate about. History should concern itself with the preservation of phenomena as they had actually existed in their own time and place. It should recover the lost data of the past, not as detached specimens such as the antiquary places in his museum, but transplanted like living organisms for the preservation of the life as well as of the organs. Now, where else should one look for the vital forces of history than in the mind of the actors? So if the historic imagination can restore events, not simply as they seem to us but as they seemed to those who watched them taking place, we shall understand them in so far as history can contribute to their understanding. In any case this is the field of the historian. If he injects his own theories into the operation he merely falsifies what he has already got. Let the past stand forth once more, interpreted by itself, and we have the truth—incomplete to be sure, but as perfect as we shall ever be able to attain. For, note the point, in that past, the dominating thing was the *Zeitgeist* itself—a thing at once to be worked out and working out, a programme and a creative force. Why, therefore, should one turn aside to other devices to explain history, since it explained itself if once presented in its own light?

Ranke developed no further the implications of his theory than to ensure a reproduction of a living past, as perfect as with the sources at his disposal and the political instincts of his time it was possible to secure. But this high combination of science and art had its counterpart in the philosophy of Hegel. At first sight nothing could be more absurd than the comparison of these two men, the one concrete, definite, searching for minute details, maintaining his own objectivity by insisting upon the subjectivity of the materials he handles, the other theoretic, unhistorical, creating worlds from his inner consciousness, presenting as a scheme of historical interpretation a programme of ideals, unattained and for all we know unattainable. It would be difficult to imagine a philosophy of history more unhistorical than this of Hegel. Yet he but emphasized the Idea which Ranke implicitly accepted.

Hegel was a sort of philosophic Augustine, tracing through history the development of the realm of the spirit. The City of God is still the central theme, but the crude expectations of a miraculous

advent are replaced by the conception of a slow realization of its spiritual power, rising through successive stages of civilization. So he traces, in broad philosophic outlines, the history of this revelation of the Spirit, from its dawn in the Orient, through its developing childhood in Asia, its Egyptian period of awakening, its liberation in Greece, its maturity in the Roman balance of the individual and the State, until finally Christianity, especially in the German world, carries the spirit life to its highest expression. In this process the Absolute reveals itself—that Absolute which had mocked the deists with its isolation and unconcern. And it reveals itself in the Idea which Kantian critique had placed in the forefront of reality and endowed with the creative force of an *élan vital*. So theology, scepticism, and metaphysics combined to explain the world and its history—as the working out of an ideal scheme.

Now as a series of successive ideals the Hegelian scheme may offer some suggestions to those who wish to characterize the complex phenomena of an age or an empire in a single phrase. But it is no statement of any actual process. The ideals which it presents remain ideals, not realities. History written to fit the Hegelian metaphysics would be almost as vigorous a distortion as that which Orosius wrote to fit Augustinian theology. The history of practical Christianity, for instance, is a vastly different thing from the history of its ideals. It is an open question whether the ideal could ever be deduced from the practice, and not less questionable whether we are any nearer realization than at the start. There has been little evidence in outward signs of any such determinant change in the nature of politics or in the stern enforcement of economic laws during the history of western Europe. We find ourselves repeating in many ways experience of Rome and Greece—pagan experiences. Society is only partly religious and only slightly self-conscious. How, then, can it be merely the manifestation of a religious ideal? Surely other forces than ideals or ideas must be at work. The weakness of Hegel's interpretation of history is the history. He interprets it without knowing what it is. His interest was in the other side of his scheme, the Absolute which was revealing itself therein. The scheme, indeed, was a sort of afterthought. But before historians directed any sufficient criticism against his unhistoricity, scepticism in philosophy had already attacked his Absolute. It was the materialistic Feuerbach, with his thoroughgoing avowal that man is the creature of his appetite and not of his mind (*Der Mensch ist was er isst*), who furnished the transition to a new and absolutely radical line of historical interpretation—the materialistic and the economic.

Materialism has a bad name. It has partly earned it, partly had

it thrust upon it. But whatever one may think of its cruder dogmatic aspects, the fact remains that interpretation of history owes at least as much to it as to all the speculations which had preceded it. For it supplied one-half the data—the material half! Neither theology nor metaphysics had really ever got down to earth. They had proceeded upon the theory that the determination of history is from *above* and from *within* mankind, and had been so absorbed with working out their scheme from these premises that the possibility of determination from *around* did not occur to them, until the physical and biological sciences and the new problems of economics pressed it upon their attention. To the old philosophies, this world was at best a theatre for divine or psychic forces; it contributed no part of the drama but the setting. Now came the claim that the environment itself entered into the play and that it even determined the character of the production. It was a claim based upon a study of the details from a new standpoint, that of the commonplace, of business, and of the affairs of daily life. The farmer's work depends upon his soil, the miner's upon the pumps which open up the lower levels. Cities grow where the forces of production concentrate, by harbors or coal-fields. A study of plains, river valleys, or mountain ranges tends to show that societies match their environment; therefore the environment moulds them to itself. So the nature of the struggle for existence, out of which emerges intelligence, is determined by the material conditions under which it is waged.

This is innocent enough. One might have expected that philosophers would have welcomed the emphasis which the new thinkers placed upon the missing half of their speculations. For there was no getting around the fact that the influences of environment upon society had been largely or altogether ignored before the scientific era forced the world upon our view. But no. The dogmatic habits had got too firmly fixed. If one granted that the material environment might determine the character of the drama of history, why should it not determine whether there should be any drama at all or not? There were extremists on both sides, and it was battle royal—Realism and Nominalism over again. One was to be either a Hegelian, booted and spurred, sworn, cavalier-like, to the defense of the divine right of the Idea, or a regicide materialist with a Calvinistic creed of irreligion! The total result was that their mutual opinion of one another brought *both* into ill repute. Philosophies of history became at least as discredited as the materialism they attacked.

Now the materialistic interpretation of history does not necessa-

advent are replaced by the conception of a slow realization of its spiritual power, rising through successive stages of civilization. So he traces, in broad philosophic outlines, the history of this revelation of the Spirit, from its dawn in the Orient, through its developing childhood in Asia, its Egyptian period of awakening, its liberation in Greece, its maturity in the Roman balance of the individual and the State, until finally Christianity, especially in the German world, carries the spirit life to its highest expression. In this process the Absolute reveals itself—that Absolute which had mocked the deists with its isolation and unconcern. And it reveals itself in the Idea which Kantian critique had placed in the forefront of reality and endowed with the creative force of an *élan vital*. So theology, scepticism, and metaphysics combined to explain the world and its history—as the working out of an ideal scheme.

Now as a series of successive ideals the Hegelian scheme may offer some suggestions to those who wish to characterize the complex phenomena of an age or an empire in a single phrase. But it is no statement of any actual process. The ideals which it presents remain ideals, not realities. History written to fit the Hegelian metaphysics would be almost as vigorous a distortion as that which Orosius wrote to fit Augustinian theology. The history of practical Christianity, for instance, is a vastly different thing from the history of its ideals. It is an open question whether the ideal could ever be deduced from the practice, and not less questionable whether we are any nearer realization than at the start. There has been little evidence in outward signs of any such determinant change in the nature of politics or in the stern enforcement of economic laws during the history of western Europe. We find ourselves repeating in many ways experience of Rome and Greece—pagan experiences. Society is only partly religious and only slightly self-conscious. How, then, can it be merely the manifestation of a religious ideal? Surely other forces than ideals or ideas must be at work. The weakness of Hegel's interpretation of history is the history. He interprets it without knowing what it is. His interest was in the other side of his scheme, the Absolute which was revealing itself therein. The scheme, indeed, was a sort of afterthought. But before historians directed any sufficient criticism against his unhistoricity, scepticism in philosophy had already attacked his Absolute. It was the materialistic Feuerbach, with his thoroughgoing avowal that man is the creature of his appetite and not of his mind (*Der Mensch ist was er isst*), who furnished the transition to a new and absolutely radical line of historical interpretation—the materialistic and the economic.

Materialism has a bad name. It has partly earned it, partly had

it thrust upon it. But whatever one may think of its cruder dogmatic aspects, the fact remains that interpretation of history owes at least as much to it as to all the speculations which had preceded it. For it supplied one-half the data—the material half! Neither theology nor metaphysics had really ever got down to earth. They had proceeded upon the theory that the determination of history is from *above* and from *within* mankind, and had been so absorbed with working out their scheme from these premises that the possibility of determination from *around* did not occur to them, until the physical and biological sciences and the new problems of economics pressed it upon their attention. To the old philosophies, this world was at best a theatre for divine or psychic forces; it contributed no part of the drama but the setting. Now came the claim that the environment itself entered into the play and that it even determined the character of the production. It was a claim based upon a study of the details from a new standpoint, that of the commonplace, of business, and of the affairs of daily life. The farmer's work depends upon his soil, the miner's upon the pumps which open up the lower levels. Cities grow where the forces of production concentrate, by harbors or coal-fields. A study of plains, river valleys, or mountain ranges tends to show that societies match their environment; therefore the environment moulds them to itself. So the nature of the struggle for existence, out of which emerges intelligence, is determined by the material conditions under which it is waged.

This is innocent enough. One might have expected that philosophers would have welcomed the emphasis which the new thinkers placed upon the missing half of their speculations. For there was no getting around the fact that the influences of environment upon society had been largely or altogether ignored before the scientific era forced the world upon our view. But no. The dogmatic habits had got too firmly fixed. If one granted that the material environment might determine the character of the drama of history, why should it not determine whether there should be any drama at all or not? There were extremists on both sides, and it was battle royal—Realism and Nominalism over again. One was to be either a Hegelian, booted and spurred, sworn, cavalier-like, to the defense of the divine right of the Idea, or a regicide materialist with a Calvinistic creed of irreligion! The total result was that their mutual opinion of one another brought *both* into ill repute. Philosophies of history became at least as discredited as the materialism they attacked.

Now the materialistic interpretation of history does not necessa-

rily imply that there is nothing but materialism in the process, any more than theology implies that there is nothing but spirit. It will be news to some that such was the point of view of the most famous advocate of the materialistic interpretation of history, H. T. Buckle. His *History of Civilization in England*, published in 1857, was the first attempt to work out the influences of the material world upon the formation of societies. Everyone has heard of how he developed, through a wealth of illustration, the supreme importance of food, soil, and the general aspect of nature. But few apparently have actually read what he says, or they would find that he assigns to these three factors an ever lessening function as civilization advances, that he postulates mind as much as matter, and, with almost Hegelian vision, indicates its ultimate control. He distinctly states that "the advance of European civilization is characterized by a diminishing influence of physical laws and an increasing influence of mental laws", and that "the measure of civilization is the triumph of mind over matter". If Buckle had presented his scheme politely, right side up, as it were, it could hardly have had a sermon preached at it! But he prefaced it with his opinion of theologians and historians—and few, apparently, have ever got beyond the preface. For it was not encouraging reading for historians—a class of men who, in his opinion, are so marked out by "indolence of thought" or "natural incapacity" that they are fit for nothing better than writing monkish annals. There was, of course, a storm of aggrieved protest. But now that the controversy has cleared away, we can see that, in spite of his too confident formulation of his laws, the work of Buckle remains as that of a worthy pioneer in a great, unworked field of science.

Ten years before Buckle published his *History of Civilization*, Karl Marx had already formulated the "economic theory of history". Accepting with reservations Feuerbach's materialistic attack upon Hegel, Marx was led to the conclusion that the motive causes of history are to be found in the conditions of material existence. Already in 1845 he wrote, of the young-Hegelians, that to separate history from natural science and industry was like separating the soul from the body, and "finding the birthplace of history, not in the gross material production on earth, but in the misty cloud formation of heaven."¹ In his *Misère de la Philosophie* (1847) he lays down the principle that social relationships largely depend upon modes of production, and therefore the principles, ideas, categories, which are thus evolved are no more eternal than the relations they express, but are historical and transitory products. From these grounds,

¹ *Die Heilige Familie*, p. 238.

Marx went on to socialism, which bases its militant philosophy upon this interpretation of history. But the truth or falseness of socialism does not affect the theory of history. In the famous manifesto of the Communist party (1848) the theory was applied to show how the Commercial and Industrial Revolutions, with the attendant growth of capital, had replaced feudal by modern conditions. This, like all history written to fit a theory, is bad history, although much nearer reality than Hegel ever got, because it dealt more with actualities. But we are not concerned here with Marx's own history-writing any more than with his socialism. What we want to get at is the standpoint for interpretation. Marx himself, in the preface to the first edition of *Capital*, says that his standpoint is one "from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history". This sounds like the merest commonplace. Human history is thrown in line with that of the rest of nature. The scope is widened to include every factor, and the greatest one is that which deals with the maintenance of life and the attainment of comfort. So far so good. But Marx had not been a pupil of Hegel for nothing. He, too, went on to absolutes, simply turning Hegel's upside down. With him "the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind". The world is the thing, not the idea. So he goes on to make man, the modifier of nature, with growing control over it, but a function of it—a tool of the tool, just when he has mastered it by new inventions.

But strange as it may seem, Marx's scheme, like Buckle's, culminates in mind, not in matter. The first part is economic purely. The industrial proletarians—"the workers", as socialism fondly terms them—are, like capitalism, the product of economic forces. The factory not only binds the shackles upon the wage-slaves of today, it even fills the swarming *ergastula* of city slums by the stimulation of child labor. So the process continues until the proletariat, as a last result of its economic situation, acquires a common consciousness. Then what happens? The future is not to be as the past. Consciousness means intelligence, and as soon as the proletariat *understands*, it can burst shackles, master economics, and so control instead of blindly obeying the movement of its creative energy. Whether socialism would achieve the object of its faith and hope is not for us to consider, but the point remains, that in the ultimate analysis, even the economic interpretation of history ends uneconomically. It ends in directing intelligence, in ideals of justice, of social and moral order.

Now where are we? We have passed in review the mythological,

theological, philosophical, materialistic, and economic interpretations of history, and have found that none of these, stated in their extreme forms, meets the situation. Pure theology or metaphysics omits or distorts the history it is supposed to explain; history is not its proper business. Materialism and economics, while more promising because more earthly, cannot be pressed beyond a certain point. Life itself escapes their analysis. The conclusion is this: that we have two main elements in our problem which must be brought together—the psychic on the one hand, the material on the other. Not until psychology and the natural and economic sciences shall have been turned upon the problem, working in co-operation as allies, not as rivals, will history be able to give an intelligent account of itself. They will need more data than we have at present. The only economics which can promise scientific results is that based upon the statistical method, for, in spite of Bergson, brilliant guesses can hardly satisfy unless they are verified. The natural sciences are only beginning to show the intimate relation of life to its environment, and psychology has hardly begun the study of the group. But one sees already a growing appreciation of common interests, a desire on the part of economists to know the nature of the mechanism of the universe whose working they attempt to describe; an inquiry from the biologist as to the validity of un-eugenic social reform.

Now the interpretation of history lies here, with these co-operative workers upon the mystery of life and of its environment, and their interplay. That does not mean that history is to be explained from the outside. More economics means more history—if it is good economics. Marx, for instance, attempted to state both facts and processes of industrial history, Malthus of population, Ricardo of wages, etc. Both facts and processes are the stuff of history. The statement of a process may be glorified into a "law", but a "law" merely means a general fact of history. It holds good under certain conditions, which are either historical or purely imaginary, and it is only in the latter case that it lies outside the field of history. It is the same with psychology as with economics. It supplies an analysis of action, and action is history. Explanation is more knowledge of the same thing. All inductive study of society is historical.

The interpretations of history are historical in another sense. Looking back over the way we have come, from Greek philosophers to modern economists and psychologists, one can see in every case that the interpretation was but the reflex of the local environment, the expression of the dominant interest of the time. History became critical in that meeting place of East and West, the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, where divergent civilizations were opened up

for contrast with each new trireme from the south and west and where travellers destroyed credulity. In the same way, as we have traced it, the isolated landed society of the Middle Ages, with its absence of business and its simple relationships, could rest complacent with an Augustinian world-view. Nothing else was demanding explanation. When business produced a Florence and Florence a Machiavelli, we have a gleam of newer things, just as Voltaire and Hume mirror the influences of Galileo, and the voyages to China. With the nineteenth century the situation becomes more complicated, and yet one can see the interpretation of history merely projecting into the past—or drawing out of it—the meaning of each present major interest. Kant and Hegel fit into the era of ideologues and nationalist romanticists; and their implications are developed under the reaction following the French Revolution. Buckle draws his inspiration from the trend of science which produced—in the same year—the *Origin of Species*. Marx is the interpreter of the Industrial Revolution.

But this does not mean that interpretations of history are nothing more than the injection into it of successive prejudices. It means progressive clarification. Each new theory that forces itself upon the attention of historians brings up new data for their consideration and so widens the field of investigation. The greater knowledge of our world to-day reveals the smallness of our knowledge of the past, and from every side scholars are hastening to make the content of history more worthy of comparison with the content of science. From this point of view, therefore, interpretation, instead of assuming the position of a final judge of conduct or an absolute law, becomes only a suggestive stimulus for further research.

We have, therefore, an historical interpretation of interpretations themselves. It accepts two main factors, material and psychological, not concerning itself about the ultimate reality of either. It is not its business to consider ultimate realities, though it may be grateful for any light upon the subject. Less ambitious than theological, philosophical, or even economic theories, it views itself as part of the very process which it attempts to understand. If it has no ecstatic glimpses of finality, it shares at least to the full the exhilaration of the scientific quest. It risks no premature fate in the delusive security of an inner consciousness. When you ask it "Why?" it answers "What?"

J. T. SHOTWELL.

ANENT THE MIDDLE AGES^{1a}

THE Calvin quatercentenary has come and gone. Those of us who shrank from jarring by a discordant note the chorus of eulogy for a man we too revere may speak again. Even while it lasted it is gratifying to note—and to note here—that the recent book most singled out for recognition was that noble biography, by an American scholar, which most unflinchingly records the great man's aggressions against liberty. And in the meantime a flood of fresh research has made the clearer how tenuous as a whole is that old claim of Protestantism to the paternity of tolerance. If certain of these studies—like those of Nicolaus Paulus—are somewhat discredited to the cautious by their Catholic authorship, we have at length, since last spring, a careful monograph from the pen of a Protestant theologian—Karl Völker—on *Tolerance and Intolerance in the Age of the Reformation*. Its author indeed seeks to vindicate for Protestant thought (and with reason, if still with exaggeration) an essential part in the rise of tolerance; but not only does he lay bare the divergence of the two movements and relentlessly trace the rise, in theory and practice, of Protestant intolerance, from its beginnings under Luther to its culmination under Calvin, he also frankly undermines the old assumption that all this was only survival from the Middle Ages by illustrating the more tolerant attitude of the age just preceding the Reformation.

Yet there has escaped his notice—or, at least, his use—what seems to me the most startling illustration of all. May I here add it, and make it the text for a discussion of the Middle Ages as a whole?

In the year 1453, a full century before the burning of Servetus on that hillside by Geneva, a prince of the Church, a legate of the pope, Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, was stirred to write a booklet on *Peace between Faiths, or the Harmony of Religions*—for so, perhaps, we may best translate his title of *De Pace seu Concordantia Fidei*.¹ Moved, he says, by tidings of the cruelties of the Turks at

^{1a} A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December 30, 1912.

¹ The dialogue is to be found in all the editions of his works: I have used that published at Paris in 1514 by the French reformer Lefèvre d'Étaples. Twice it has even appeared in German translation—once at Leipzig in 1787, with comments by the rationalist Semler, and again in the collection of the "weightiest writings" of Nicolas of Cusa published in 1862 by Scharpff. But it has sur-

Constantinople (then just fallen into their hands), a devout man who had once seen those regions (the devout man was of course himself, who a few years before had visited Constantinople as the envoy of the Latin Church to escort the Greek delegates to the Council at Ferrara) had in grief besought the Creator to set a limit to the persecution, and had been consoled by a vision which led him to hope that through a union of the wise there might be brought about a perpetual peace between the religions of earth. In his vision he had beheld, as it were, a council as to this matter among the departed in the presence of God. Sad tidings, announced the Almighty, had come to him from the realm of earth of those who had taken up arms against each other for religion's sake and were compelling one another to choose between death and the surrender of a long-practised faith. Great was the number of them that brought such complaints, and the celestials recognized them as they whom from the beginning the King of Heaven had set over the several regions and faiths of earth. And now, at the bidding of the King, through their spokesman, an Archangel, they laid before the assembly of the saints their plea: . . . "Thou knowest, O Lord, that a great multitude can not be without much diversity, and that almost all are obliged to lead a toilsome life, filled with cares and anxieties, wherefore few have the leisure in independent research to arrive at knowledge of themselves or to seek out thee, the hidden God. Therefore hast thou given to thy people kings and prophets, and these in thy name have set up religions and laws. . . . Now, it lieth in the earthly estate of man that long custom, becoming a second nature, is cherished as truth. Thus arise no slight dissensions; since every community setteth its own faith above another's. Haste, then, to their aid, thou who alone canst help; for this strife is for thy sake, whom alone they all venerate in whatsoever each may seem to worship. For . . . it is thou who in the various religions in varying wise art sought and by varying names art called on, because in thy true being thou remainest to all unknown and inexpressible. . . . Hide thyself no longer, then, O Lord . . . and, if this diversity in rites can not be ended, or if this be inexpedient inasmuch as diversity causeth devotion the more to abound through the rival zeal of the several lands, yet at least let there be, even as

prisingly escaped the attention of the students of tolerance. Even Moriz Carrière, who almost certainly used it in formulating the views of Cusa for his *Die Philosophische Weltanschauung der Reformationszeit*, has oddly failed to enumerate it among his sources. That it was completed and in circulation before February of 1454 is known from the letter of a friend who then copied and returned it.

thou art one, but one religion and one divine worship (*una sit religio, et unus latrae cultus*)."

But the King made answer and said: "Have I not created man free, and through freedom capable of fellowship with myself? And when he walked not after the inner man, did I not send my prophets to call him back from his errors? And when even the prophets could not baffle the Prince of Ignorance, I sent my Word to put on humanity. . . . What more can be done?" Then the Word that was made flesh, highest of the celestials, made answer for all: "Father of mercies, perfect are all thy works . . . yet, since from the beginning thou didst ordain that man be free, and hence in the unstable world of sense his views and guesses must change with every age, even as his tongues and their interpretations, therefore hath human nature need of frequent visitation, that . . . the truth may constantly shine forth, and, since truth is one and can not but be discerned by every free intelligence, may lead all the differing religions into the one true faith."

So the angels were bidden to return each to the nation and the speech over which he was set, that each might bring back to the Word that was made flesh one man wise above his fellows. And when the sages had been brought, the Word showed unto them how the King of heaven and earth had heard the cry of them that were slain and imprisoned and enslaved because of difference in religion, and how all that do or suffer this persecution are moved thereto by naught save their belief that this is needful unto salvation and pleaseth their creator; wherefore the Lord hath taken pity on his people and willeth that by the common consent of men all religions be harmonized into one.

Then spake, one after another, the Greek and the Italian, the Arab and the Hindu, the Chaldaean, the Jew, and the Scythian, the Gaul and the Persian, the Syrian and the Spaniard, the Turk also and the German, the Tartar and the Armenian, the Bohemian and the Englishman, asking how, then, this oneness of faith may be sought and illustrating each the differing attitude of his people. And with them debated the Word, and likewise Peter the Apostle, expounding unto them how at bottom all religions are one. But last spake Paul, the teacher of the nations. The commands of God, urged he, are very brief, and are known to all peoples; nay, the light that reveals them is created a part of our souls. Love is the fulfilling of the law of God: all laws reduce themselves to this. "Leave, then, to the nations, if only there be faith and peace", said he, "their devotions and ceremonies, in case there be found no way to harmonize these: devotion will gain, perchance, by a certain diversity . . ."

And, the discussion being now at an end, there were brought in many books of those who have written on the usages of the past, as Varro among the Latins and Eusebius among the Greeks, or who have compared one with another the differing religions. And when all these had been examined it was found that all diversity lay rather in rites than in the worship of the One God, whom from the beginning all had ever presupposed and in all forms of worship had honored, though simple folk, led astray by the hostile power of the Prince of Darkness, had not always understood what they did.

And so it was now decided in the heaven of reason that religions should be brought into concord (*conclusa est igitur in caelo rationis concordia religionum*). The King of Kings bade the sages return to their homes and lead the nations to the unity of true worship. Ministering angels should conduct and aid them. And in due time, clothed with full powers by all, they should come together at Jerusalem, as the common centre, and there in the name of all adopt a single faith and swear thereon perpetual peace.

Such in briefest outline is the astounding dialogue in which a cardinal of the Roman Church at the middle of the fifteenth century suggests the substantial equality and the essential identity of all faiths, and makes Heaven itself teach them to settle their controversies by the science of comparative religion. Could anything be more "modern" than this?

What shall we say, then? Must the beginning of modern history be carried back to the middle of the fifteenth century? Or to the fourteenth, to include Marsilio of Padua? Or to the thirteenth, to antedate those inquiries into conscience which Lord Acton would make the deepest cause of modern history? Or to the twelfth, to take in Abelard? Or shall we, as some are coming to do, count the Middle Ages a myth?

So to insist would seem to me a misunderstanding, not only of the "Middle Ages", but of historical periods in general. These are, of course, only creations of our thought. Nature does not classify—in time or space. Genera and species are of our making, and they who fix their eyes on their frontiers will of course behold them shade away into each other. And in history, whose emphasis is less on facts of repetition than on facts of change, what we call periods must never be taken to imply a stagnation or even a mere inertia, but rather as implying lines of progress, or, at least, lines of direction.

If there is one such "period" whose justification would be admitted by us all, I suppose it is that of imperial Rome, with its organization, its unity, its universality. Yet surely, for him who will see it, the "Middle Ages" have from precisely the same point of

view—in organization, in unity, in universality—a warrant equal to imperial Rome's. If we have failed to recognize this, I suspect it is because we have begun our Middle Ages wherever the ancient historians chose to leave off, and ended them wherever the modern historians chose to begin. Now, in history, periods like generations overlap. They are not born from each other full-grown, like Minerva from the brain of Jove. The historians of Rome do well to follow her story till in the West the sceptre drops from her nerveless hand; but how should their majesty-blinded eyes discern betimes the stripling rival destined to supplant her? And why should we, whose eyes are on the stripling, delay our story till the grey-beard totters from his throne?

Not so they to whom we owe the name of "Middle Age". The Thuringian teacher who late in the seventeenth century (1685, 1688, 1696) published the compends which introduced into history the threefold division of ancient, medieval, modern, began his Middle Age, not with Odoacer, but with Constantine. But Christoph Keller had been thus far classicist more than historian, and it may be that he was only importing into history a division he had learned from the philologists: he himself explained it as a conformity to the diction of the learned (*consuetudo loquendi doctiorum*). Yet it is to be noted that Du Cange, when a few years earlier (1678) in his great *Glossarium* he gave to philologists a standard meaning for the division, used other limits, and that Cellarius himself had in an earlier manual of ancient history (1675) made the birth of Christ his stopping-point.²

That in any wise the idea of a Middle Age comes to us, as some have thought, from the Italian Humanists, lacks demonstration. Certainly their historians—a Flavio Biondo, a Machiavelli—were far from such a suggestion. What interested these was their own Italy, and it was for its beginnings—the origins of what to them was modern history—that they grasped far back into the centuries. But, three hundred years before them, a bold thinker—that Otto of Freising whom a modern critic has called the widest-visioned historian between Eusebius and Bolingbroke—had not only suggested the division of history at this point, but told withal his reason. It was in that remarkable summary of universal history which just

² To modern scholars this was first pointed out by Max Büdinger (in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, VII. 129 ff.), who remained the chief student of the history of periodization till Bernheim took up the matter in the successive editions of his *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode*. Kurth, in the latter editions of his *Qu'est-ce que le Moyen Age?* (first published at Brussels in 1898), asserts that the phrase *medium ævum* was used in print by the Liège scholar Rausin as early as 1539; but that it found attention or imitation does not appear.

after the middle of the twelfth century he addressed to his imperial nephew, Frederic Barbarossa. All its periodization shows insight; but between his third book and his fourth, dividing his earthly story, as he tells us, by a gulf equalled only by that which severs the earthly from that heavenly to which he devotes his prophetic last book, he places the conversion of Constantine. "For", he explains, "as the Kingdom of Christ is other now, while good and bad alike are within it, than when in glory it shall have the good alone, so was it other when the nations still lived under pagan rulers and had not yet entered it."

Such, then, was the Middle Age's thought of its own place in history: till Constantine, the World—since Constantine, the Church Militant—just ahead, the Church Triumphant. The scholar who thus formulated it was statesman as well as prelate. Its theological phrasing must not blind us to its historical truth.

When in the year 313 after Christ the Roman emperor Constantine could by an imperial edict not only grant equality before the laws to a religion which denied his own divinity and that of Rome, but could base that grant on the known will of a "divinity in the heavens", a new day opened not only in Roman religion but in Roman public law.³ For to Roman public law the Roman state had been till then itself a church. We who for centuries have known both the conception "state" and the conception "church" have grown to think of these as so distinct in essence that, like matter and spirit, they can interpenetrate each other and coexist without mixture or collision. We need to be reminded that then as yet not even matter and spirit were thus distinct, and that religion had always been a function of the Roman state. Divinely founded and divinely sustained, her officials were at the same time priests of her gods. Her citizens were as such plighted to their worship. Her imperial head was likewise her chief pontiff, and even as her head his highest title was a religious one. His very person was sacred, and disrespect to him was both treason and sacrilege—crime and sin. In all that concerned the policy of the state and the public duties of her citizens he was himself the mouthpiece of Heaven. Nor did even

³ It can hardly need apology to speak still of the Edict of Milan despite the doubts of Otto Seeck, since that scholar seems himself to have forgotten them—or, at least, has not come to their defense against his critics. Hermann Hülle seems to me right in holding that, while the document actually preserved to us is only the rescript of Licinius to a provincial governor, we must from this infer an edict drawn up in similar terms by the two emperors at Milan. How this document, which, whatever its own precise legal character, clearly embodies a grant to the Christians of the fullest equality, could seem to anybody a mere echo or adaptation of the edict of Galerius, which grudgingly tolerates their bare existence, is to me a puzzle.

the Oriental religions which now were supplanting the old faith of the state find it hard to accord a place to the worship of the emperor. The only real exception—for the intensely national cult of the Jews concerned few beside themselves—was Christianity.

But, if the Roman state was also a church, the Christian church was also a state. Its founder had called it, not synagogue, but kingdom. Twice, indeed, if the text of his biographies might be trusted, he had called it by the name of *ecclesia*, the self-governing assembly of a Greek city-state; and one of these passages, by prescribing the arbitration of disputes within the flock, freed his followers from all need of Roman laws and courts, while the other not only guaranteed their stability but foreshadowed a permanent leadership. Simple as was the organization they earliest gave themselves, it proved sufficient for all their needs, secular as well as religious. Their absent lord, whose return they daily expected, they hailed by all the titles used for sovereigns; and when his coming was delayed they adapted to their growing necessities the institutions not only of Hebrew colony and Hellenic town but even of imperial Rome, while their developing priesthood bethought them of that old Jewish theocracy whose heirs they were. True, they rendered unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's; but it was with disdain. True, they were non-resistants; but it was only that their foes were not of the flesh. Against the demons by whom they believed themselves surrounded they urged each other to all the military virtues and cheered each other by every military figure: their baptism was the oath to the standards, their temple the camp of God, Christ their general, their service a warfare. We who have so lately seen the martial zeal of a political convention find utterance in the strains of "Onward, Christian soldiers", will not be too sure that all this is mere figure; and, when we remember that among the demons they fought the Christians reckoned all the gods of their neighbors, the figure grows concrete.⁴

It was, indeed, against the gods of Rome, whom his desperate rival Maxentius seemed to have enlisted against him, that Constantine first turned to Christian aid. And when another imperial rival, Maximin Daza, tried to organize his pagan priesthood after the model of the Christian, there could hardly be doubt that their organization too had its political worth. When the Christian divinity had proved himself the god of battles and Constantine was master of the West, his first ecclesiastical care was to complete that organization

⁴ On the Church as a state and as an army see especially Weinell, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat* (Tübingen, 1908), and Harnack, *Militia Christi* (Tübingen, 1905). Says Neumann, "Die Kirche wird zum Staat im Staate", *Der Römische Staat und die Allgemeine Kirche*, p. 54.

by calling a general council of his bishops; and no sooner did he later find himself sole lord of the empire than he made the Church imperial by summoning a universal council. Even before it deliberated the result was ominous; for from beyond the frontiers came bishops, and the council called itself not imperial—of the empire—but oecumenical—of the civilized world. Already the Church was absorbing the State.

The steps by which that absorption grew complete I will not follow here. To the sons of Constantine all but Christian worship had grown idolatry. From the days of Theodosius Roman and Catholic were legally identical. From those of Justinian the Catholic was the prerequisite of the Roman.

Late in the fourth century, indeed, a fawning bishop, Optatus, could still argue that "the state is not in the church, but the church in the state". Yet his reason was only that "above the Emperor there is none but God". But, if in the East the emperor's position remained so nondescript that Caesaropapism has there, and even to this day, been often possible, the Latin West, with its legal spirit and its need of clear conceptions, speedily closed that door. Already the great Theodosius had learned from the firmness of Ambrose that the authority of the prince must yield to the devotion of the Christian; and under his feeble son a more eloquent churchman put forth a book which for a thousand years established in Latin Christendom that the State is in the Church, not the Church in the State. That book of Augustine we wrongly call "*The City of God*".⁵ To Augustine and his world *civitas* meant *state*; and the book was written precisely to prove that, as truly as Rome's, God's people form a state. "*Gottesstaat*", God's state, is the happier translation of our German cousins. It was not an allegory—though it used allegory. It was not a mere philosophy of history—though it embodied a philosophy of history. To those for whom it was written it was sober history, based on the most authentic of documents; and for the Christian, as he saw unrolled that record of the heavenly fatherland, which made Rome's proudest memories those of a mushroom of yesterday, it was as when for the Italian of the Renaissance a Villani or a Biondo drew from the dust of the manuscripts the glorious deeds of his ancestors, or as when for the French Calvinist of the sixteenth century a Hotman revealed the free institutions of

⁵ This in spite of what Hermann Reuter urges in his *Augustinische Studien*, III. To the Roman, *civitas* meant, of course, both city and state, and no translation can preserve to us all its meaning. Already Ambrose in one of his sermons (*In Psalmum cxviii Expositio*, 35) had declared *Civitas Dei Ecclesia est*, and Augustine himself (in his *De Genesi ad Litteram*, xi. 15) had outlined his theory of the two states and promised a book upon it.

his Frankish sires. But no comparison can suggest what to the humble citizen of that heavenly country was then that revelation of the glories, in heaven and earth, past and to come, of the eternal state whose greatness was his own. And over against it, bringing all its boundaries into relief, even as his God had himself been made unique by sinking all others into fiends, was sketched the story of that other state, born of the fall of the angels, planted on earth by Cain, maintained till the Judgment by the malice of Satan, which, whether it be called Sodom or Babylon or Rome or the World, is the realm of the Devil, the only real state on earth but that of Heaven. And between these two must king and emperor, like humbler mortals, choose. In each their function is only a subordinate's. The Devil may beguile them by show of power, but they are his helpless tools. Yet even the State of God has use for earthly monarchs. Though only laymen, and so shut out from all part in the mediation between earth and her heavenly ruler, yet as laymen they may be the foremost. But let them remember that even their personal hope of a share in Heaven's favor, here or hereafter, depends on their putting not only themselves but all their authority as sovereigns, all their means of persuasion or constraint, at the service of the one true faith and of the Church, its interpreter. Of earthly good government, as we now understand it, Augustine has hardly a suggestion; but of the monarch's part in the preservation of peace, the repression of crime and of sin, the maintenance of worship, the use of the strong hand to punish rebellion against the Church or her unity, his teaching is full. If he still shrank from the death penalty for the heretic, he counted his crime darker than any against the laws of earth; and Augustine had not been a quarter-century in the grave when the firmer hand of Pope Leo had won recognition for the supreme majesty of the Heavenly Emperor by the making of such treason against him the highest of capital crimes. The theocracy was complete.

How, through the centuries which followed, that idea of the State of God developed, we know well enough from the historians of Church and of Empire. What I have sought to urge is only that, if our study of the Middle Ages began a little earlier, we might the better discern beneath all their administrative dualism that great underlying unity, that medieval Christendom, which men called sometimes the Church Universal, sometimes the Commonwealth of Mankind, but oftenest the peregrine city of the State of God.⁶

⁶ The phrase, though not Augustine's, was suggested by him ("coelestis civitas dum peregrinatur in terra", *De Civitate Dei*, XIX. 17), and later writers did not hesitate to put it into his mouth. Thus, in the twelfth century, Cardinal

But how about the other end of the Middle Ages? Can we date it by the collapse of this conception of the State of God? Not so clearly. Nor has there been agreement of late. If some would carry far back the beginning of modern history, some would bring it far on toward the present. At the late international congress of historians in Berlin one eminent scholar wanted it put in the seventeenth century, while another would put it in the eighteenth. Not a few have urged the French Revolution as a boundary; and there are not wanting those who believe we are still in the Middle Ages. Again, I think, we must discriminate. If a new age may be deemed begun when once it has fairly joined issue for the dominance, surely its predecessor must be counted *functus officio* when it is once fairly deposed from supremacy. There is a sense, of course, in which an age never dies. "Scratch a Russian and find a Tartar!" Has not Mr. Frazer shown us that deep beneath the surface of modern society still roll the turbid currents of even prehistoric life? As for those foregleams, on the other hand, which tempt us sometimes to hail the modern far back amid the medieval, such flashes of insight are so native to human nature as often to be not even a prophecy. And even when they begin to grow continuous and to endanger the old, they may be in the service of minds wholly loyal to the old ideals. It was not Abelard who felt his critical method a danger to the faith. Those first inquirers into the claims of conscience were the great schoolmen themselves, and their aim was not to free it, but to show it the dread responsibilities of freedom. Marsilio's theory

Henry of Marcy, earlier Abbot of Clairvaux: "Tractavit beatus Augustinus mistim de utraque civitate, et peregrinante in terris, et regnante in coelis" (*De peregrinante Civitate Dei*, preface). The wording knew many variations, and *peregrinans* often gave place to *militans*. Such was Augustine's emphasis on the solidarity of the State of God in heaven and earth that he seems to have shrunk from any separate name for its earthly portion. The "earthly city" (*civitas terrena*) was his favorite name for the Devil's state; and with justice, for, though the devils too had their chief abode in the clouds, these according to the cosmogony of the age were terrestrial, not celestial. Whatever phrase was used, churchmen were too prone to identify it with the Church, laymen with the Empire or even with the World. But as to the fundamental unity see Gierke, III. 515 ff. (p. 9 ff. of Maitland's masterly translation, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*). The books which touch on the subject are legion and include almost all the treatises on civil or canon law, the histories of political theory, and those of the relations between Church and State; but beside these I may mention Heinrich von Eicken's *Geschichte und System der Mittelalterlichen Weltanschauung*, Karl Rieker's opening chapter in his *Die rechtliche Stellung der Evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, and Imbart de la Tour's in the first volume of his *Origines de la Réforme*. Best in English are the fine chapter of Mr. Bryce (in his *Holy Roman Empire*) on the "Theory of the Mediaeval Empire" and the *Regnum Dei* of Dr. Archibald Robertson (Bampton lectures, 1901), the most careful study of the history of the "Kingdom of God" in Christian thought.

of the sovereignty of the people was largely mere Aristotle; and, even so, it hardly gained a hearing before the sixteenth century. The Nicolas of Cusa who could foreshadow a universal tolerance was the same Nicolas of Cusa who had earlier worked out the most majestic of the schemes for the unity of Church and State in ruling the world. In the years since then, it is true, there had come to him through his intercourse with Byzantine scholars a knowledge of that neo-Platonism which was to prove for medieval thought a door of exit, as to Augustine—and perhaps to Constantine—it had proved a door of entrance. It is true that the thinker who could thus seek for a true tolerance other basis than the complacent pre-eminence of any cult was the same who a century before Copernicus denied to the earth the centre of the universe and who sowed those germs of thought which were one day to ripen in the daring philosophy of Giordano Bruno. Yet Nicolas of Cusa died in the full odor of orthodoxy, the bosom friend of a pope and in his absence governor of Rome.

Nor was it wholly otherwise with that more conscious rebel from whom we have been wont to date the younger age. As a Dante could stalk through Hell and Purgatory and Paradise with doom for prelate or pope or humbler sinner as his mere layman's conscience might suggest, yet be prepared to demonstrate the absolute oneness throughout all time of the divine authority in State and Church, so a Martin Luther could be so taken captive in his conscience by his own understanding of a sacred book as to be deaf before legate and kaiser to every dictum of its official interpreter, yet sigh more ardently than the pope for the fulfillment of the dream of Augustine, and to his dying day count himself a true son of the one Catholic Church.

True, to Luther that Church invisible no longer needed pope or emperor; and, when these tried to silence him, so bold were his denials of their right to coerce thought that later days have read into his words a championing of what we call the right of private judgment.⁷ But to the student it has now grown clear that Martin

⁷ Luther, too, had once believed and taught that heretics must be coerced (see his comment on the phrase "Compel them to enter in" in his sermon of June 14, 1523); but after his theses had brought on himself the charge of heresy he swiftly came to other views. Already in the *Resolutiones* for the explanation of his theses (in May of 1518 sent the pope) he maintains that the two swords of the Church are not the power ecclesiastical and the power temporal, but the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, and the sword of learning. Her province, he says, is to refute heretics, not to burn them—for that is contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit, which tells us in the Scriptures how the Canaanites were left in the Land of Promise that the children of Israel might learn war and practise it. It surely is not rash to find pertinent to this change of view

Luther was no conscious champion, even at Worms, of individual liberty. Heresy to him was still the deadliest of sins; nor did he doubt that, if he erred himself, he and his followers were forever damned.⁸ For to him the Church, though invisible, was still the State of God, and the behests of her heavenly sovereign no whit less arbitrary because their only channel was a sacred book. The Holy Spirit, the author of that book, was likewise its divine interpreter to the elect of God; and for a time Luther could trust that to all honest souls the one true meaning of that "all-simplest writer" would speedily grow clear. But when experience began to shake that faith, and when to his responsibility as teacher there began to add itself a share in the responsibilities of the ruler, the Middle Age awoke in him.⁹

For to Luther, not less than to Augustine, the powers that be were ordained of God, and the Christian prince, "the foremost member of the Church", His minister who "beareth not the sword in vain". To him the Ten Commandments were still the eternal summary of God's law; and not alone their second table, touching men's duties to each other, was to be vindicated by that sword, but yet more the first, touching the claims of God. Two crimes that table forbade, as insults to the majesty of Heaven—idolatry and blasphemy; and it was for the punishment of idolatry and of blasphemy that Luther first called on the temporal arm. Now, idolatry was a crime long practically obsolete in Christendom, and hence unknown to current codes. Not so with blasphemy; but blasphemy meant to the jurist, then as now, only wanton insult to religion. The medieval doctors, resting on Holy Writ, had held, indeed, that heresy may be so outrageous as to be blasphemous; but jealously had they excluded this heretical blasphemy, like other heresy, from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. Luther himself had heretofore counted it no concern of princes. Yet in his ardor he had long been wont to

his words a few lines later: "My friends have now these many days been calling me heretic, impious, blasphemer, as not holding in the catholic sense the Church of Christ and the Holy Scriptures; but I, relying on my conscience, believe it is they who err, and I who love the Church of Christ, and what befits her."

⁸ See, in that very year of the Diet of Worms, his letter to Melancthon, September 9, 1521, and that to his fellow friars, November 25, 1521.

⁹ That it was the Middle Age is frankly recognized in that fine essay by Walther Köhler on *Reformation und Ketzerprozess* which in 1901 opened the more thorough study of this theme; and Paul Wappler, whose minuter researches have of late so enlarged our knowledge, takes the same view. Hermelink (in his *Der Toleranzgedanke im Reformationszeitalter*) has raised a doubt; but it rests on a strangely incomplete survey of the evidence and has now been fully answered by Völker's book. Let me here say that, great as is my debt to these and other scholars, my conclusions rest on studies independent of theirs, and may, I trust, add somewhat to the discussion.

reckon as blasphemous the views repugnant to his own; and now from rhetoric to sober charge was but a step. It needed not the Peasant War nor the Anabaptists to stir him to repression. Before the end of 1524 he urged his Wittenbergers against the papists:¹⁰ "If it is permitted you by God", he said, "to punish a reckless brat who blasphemes in the market-place, then let it be permitted you to root out from your town this horrid anti-Christian blasphemy" of the mass; and with their help he drove it out by force. In this the prince had had no part; but when in 1525 the cautious Frederick gave place to John, whose conscience was wholly in the reformer's keeping, that conscience was not left unenlightened. To repress idolatry and blasphemy is the highest duty of a prince—even as Christ with whips drove out the hucksters from the Temple. It is false teaching, above all, that is forbidden by the commandment not to take God's name in vain; and the papist teachings are manifest blasphemies.¹¹

Toward the Radicals Luther had been more patient. When, early in 1525, the Nurembergers had asked him how to treat them, he would not yet "rate them as blasphemers"; but, "if they will not recognize and obey the civil power, they forfeit all they are and have."¹² A year later, however, in Saxony, he is not only ready to urge their punishment as blasphemers, but adds another ground—the ground that it is not for any earthly prince to suffer his subjects to be led into division in religion: in one region there must be but one religious teaching.¹³ Thus did Luther borrow for the incipient modern state the religious unity of the medieval State of God.¹⁴

¹⁰ See his sermon of November 27, 1524; and cf. the fuller statement of the argument in his *Vom Greuel der Stillmesse*. The most careful study of Luther's developing thought in this field is now Karl Müller's *Kirche, Gemeinde und Obrigkeit nach Luther* (Tübingen, 1910). Yet even from this study I fear too early a date may be inferred for Luther's change of view as to the punishment of blasphemy. When in his sermon on good works (1520) he makes it the prince's duty to check false worship, it is only that he may deal with the Church "as with a father who has lost his wits"; and when he tells us that the "function of the temporal power is to protect its subjects from theft, robbery and adultery", he presently adds that "with preaching and faith and the first three commandments it has naught to do". And in his letter to Haussmann (March 26, 1522) it is on the ground, not of blasphemy, but of disturbance of the peace, that he would have the friars silenced.

¹¹ See his letter to the Elector, July 20, 1525, and especially that to Spalatin, November 11, 1525; also the formal opinion *de jure reformandi*, in Melanchthon's *Opera*, I. 763, and the sermons at Wittenberg in which Luther now (as always thereafter) expounded this meaning of the commandment.

¹² See his letter to Spengler, February 4, 1525.

¹³ See his letter to the Elector, February 9, 1526.

¹⁴ True, he cites the example of the Nurembergers; but it was his own advice to them that had thus fruited. It must not be forgotten that Augustine himself, though welcoming for the Church the collegueship of the Empire, was an advocate of the petty state: "*felicioribus rebus humanis omnia regna parva essent*".

and thus he launched into the world that doctrine of "Cujus regio ejus religio" which a few months later, at the Diet of Spires, became (and for so long) the basis of German policy.

His theory of repression was full-grown; yet for long he shrank, like Augustine, from crowning it with the death penalty. But his theory, like Augustine's, proved more potent than his scruples; and when, in 1529, at that other Diet of Spires where was born the "Protest" (a protest, let us remember, not for the subject's freedom to choose, but for his sovereign's to prescribe), the Lutherans joined their Romanist colleagues in a law of death against the Separatists, Luther himself held back no longer.¹⁵ From 1530 he was urging on his fellow-reformers its stern enforcement against the Anabaptists; and, could his word have had its way—his word, I say, for the great heart of the man was always more tolerant than his head—every Zwinglian (and, by the same token, later every Calvinist) would in Lutheran lands have shared their fate.¹⁶

¹⁵ Already by the summer of 1528, replying to another appeal from the Nurembergers, his hesitation was only lest the example might be followed by the heretics themselves. See his letter to Link, July 14, 1528. This letter has been much misdated; but to the student who has followed the development of Luther's attitude, the later dates suggested are impossible. The passage is clearly an answer to precisely the same question that was addressed also to the Swabian reformer, Brenz, and drew forth from him that noble plea for tolerance which continued to be of use long after its author had receded from it. This reply of Brenz, too, has been misdated, and even the learned *Bibliographia Brentiana* of Köhler knows only the date of its first printing (October 21, 1528). From a contemporary manuscript acquired by me for Cornell University I am happy to supply the date of writing—"1528, im siebenden tag dess Heumonats" (July 7, 1528).

¹⁶ It was in the form of a commentary on the 82d Psalm that in the spring of 1530, at the instance of his Nuremberg friends, he published to the world his ripened views. They are tersely summarized by his amanuensis, Veit Dietrich, in an abstract sent to Spengler: "Heretics are of two sorts—some against religion only, not against government. As to those who sin against government, like the Anabaptists, they should unquestionably be punished by the government as seditious, and sharply. As to those sinning against religion only, as now the Sacramentarians or the Papists, they too must not be tolerated: first because, if in a state are those who teach conflicting things, occasion will be given for crowds and tumults, and this the government should avoid; secondly, if the government knows who teach contrary to religion, they should not be tolerated, lest they infect with foreign sins; thirdly, blasphemers must not be tolerated, and everybody of this sort is a blasphemer." (Hausdorff, *Lebens-Beschreibung Spenglers*, p. 192, note.) As printed, Luther's commentary does not so explicitly charge papists and Zwinglians with blasphemy. Manifest blasphemy is it to teach against a recognized article of the faith, clearly grounded in Scripture and believed by all Christendom, such as children are taught in the Creed—as to teach that Christ is not God or that he did not die for our sins or to deny the resurrection and eternal life or hell. But all unauthorized religious teachers he would silence or hand over to "Master Hans"—the executioner. For, even though tyrants should in turn punish Lutherans for heresy and blasphemy, the

Thus, as to persecution, Lutheranism in its first ten years had reached much the same point as the primitive church in its first five hundred. Yet not quite. Though in Lutheran lands men and women might now suffer death for precisely the same offense known elsewhere as heresy, it was under the name, not of heresy, but of sedition or of blasphemy. So much, at least, was due to Luther's consistency with his earlier utterances. And it was much; for in it lay serious surrender of that old medieval theory of the sovereignty of God.

But the brilliant young French refugee who in 1536 worked out in the seclusion of a Swiss attic, and not alone for his French fatherland, but for all Christendom, his text-book of the divine legislation, had no such hampering traditions; nor need he fear from his well-tutored heart interference with the conclusions of his head. Jurist by training, as well as theologian, John Calvin was Augustinian to the core; and well he knew that the political system envisaged by these new Institutes of his was that of the State of God. And that old free city of the Holy Roman Empire where a strange providence soon planted him as adviser, as spiritual head, at last as autocrat, was almost as ideally unhampered for her task. For Geneva knew now no emperor save the Heavenly, and His majesty alone need be the object of her care. When in 1553 there strayed within her walls that fugitive arch-heretic it must have seemed to those who shared the spirit of their leader a God-given occasion to show forth how universal was her Master's realm. Michael Servetus was no citizen of hers, nor had he committed any crime within her borders. It was against all precedent and in defiance of the claims of those French courts from which he fled that she assumed to try him. And when, for high treason to the God of Heaven, she doomed him to the death of fire, it was under no Genevan statute, but the old imperial laws of Theodosius and of Frederick. The Augustinian State of God, reaching her arm adown the centuries, found in that assertion of her monarch's earthly sovereignty her culminating moment. All that followed was reaction.

Calvin's error, say his modern sons in their inscription on the stone which they have erected on the spot where stood the stake of Servetus, was the error of his age. Last summer they deepened that inscription. That does not make it true. Were it true, who like John Calvin shaped the opinions of that age? But true I can not find it. No other can be shown to have gone, even in theory, so far as he; and though, in that time when men must stand to-

commandment that false prophets be stoned must be neither annulled nor obscured. Yet it is only the culprit who can neither be expelled nor silenced whom Luther would hand over to the executioner.

gether, his fellow leaders of Protestantism stood loyally by him, none went so far again. Even from their ranks came protest; and in the ranks which up to now had found no suffrage in the State of God, the ranks of Christian laymen, there began a murmur which has not yet died out. Only those who have given study to the origins of modern liberty in Church and State know in what multitudinous ways the great movements which were to secularize and free the age that followed may be traced to the protest stirred by that reincarnation of the medieval State of God.¹⁷

Yet this is to see but half. That such protest could be was only because already to multitudes of quiet thinking men that drama at Worms had meant, not, as to Luther, a loyalty to the truth of God, whose official mouthpiece he might now become, but loyalty to the God of truth, who needs no longer an official mouthpiece—was only because to multitudes who now, from near or far, looked on at that Genevan drama the State of God which Augustine had taught to Calvin had brought not patient citizenship alone, but inspiration to visions of their own, and now beyond the flame-lit skies that showed its pettiness their peering sight discerned a nobler vista for the sons of God. And I doubt if anywhere the Middle Ages found a surer ending.

But that we should make our Middle Ages end there I have not meant to urge. That, thus viewed, the "Middle Ages" have still

¹⁷ It has often been urged that "even the mild Melanchthon" approved the burning of Servetus. So he did; and Nicolaus Paulus has given himself the pains (*Protestantismus und Toleranz*, pp. 73-78) to prove that many times he did so. Melanchthon was, in truth, after his early experience with Zwickau prophets, a lifelong leader in the repression of religious error; and despite the doubts of Paulus and of Wappler, I believe that as to this it was he who led Luther, rather than Luther him. But what Paulus fails to point out is that, in his every utterance as to the burning of Servetus, no matter to whom addressed, he makes his approval hinge on the blasphemy of the Spaniard. And, even while Paulus was writing (1911), a new volume of the *Supplementa Melanchthoniana* (Abt. II., Teil 1) brought fresh testimony to Melanchthon's point of view: a body of topics for discussion by his students, drawn up by him in 1553, includes the thesis that "heretics are not to be punished with death", and in the outline for its treatment suggests the argument that those who are justly so punished, as were the authors of the Peasant War and the Anabaptists, "are not heretics merely, and not alone by their opinions but also by other offenses violate the extreme commands of God" (*non tantum opinionibus, sed etiam aliis delictis extrema Dei mandata violant*). It is of course only as to the penalty for heresy and the theory underlying the penalty that I thus count Calvin severer than Melanchthon or Luther. How central in Calvin's theology and polity was the sovereignty of God has been demonstrated afresh by Gisbert Beyerhaus in his *Studien zur Staatsanschauung Calvins* (Berlin, 1910). He too finds the ideas of Calvin and his fellow-reformers as to the state "a revival of medieval theocratic views". How far from unanimous were the contemporaries in applauding the execution of Servetus, and how much less so the lay than the clerical, has been best shown by Buisson in his *Sébastien Castellion* (Paris, 1892); but there is more to be told.

some warrant as a period, I trust I may have shown. But such a period, even if justified, can be so only for Christendom—only, perhaps, for Latin Christendom—and, even for Latin Christendom, it is but a single phase of the infinitely complex life of men. What I have meant to urge is only that in history our periods, if they are to be intelligible, must overlap. All hail to those who save our thought from petrification by coining us fresh nomenclatures from ever varying points of view.

GEORGE L. BURR.

THE COURT OF STAR CHAMBER ^{1a}

THE Court of Star Chamber won enough prominence and enough odium in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to obtain formal abolition by act of Parliament in 1641. It has left its name to later times as a synonym for secrecy, severity, and the wresting of justice. It was the subject of much contemporary description and discussion and indications of its activity meet us at every turn in the records of that period. It has also been described by several modern writers. Yet contemporary writers were interested principally in the technicalities of its procedure and modern scholars have devoted themselves largely to the difficult questions of its origin and authority. Common knowledge therefore remains relatively inadequate and inaccurate. It has gained a name for secrecy whereas its sessions were open practically to all comers. Its action is generally supposed to have been tyrannical and irregular, yet its procedure was quite as formal as that of any other court of equity. It is frequently thought of as in some way exceptional, yet no branch of the government was more clearly an outgrowth of the period in which it flourished.

The object of this paper is therefore to describe in the light of the abundant records in existence the Court of Star Chamber during the seventy-five years in which its place and time of meeting, its constitution, functions, and procedure were all well settled, and to point out its connection with the life of that period.

Star Chamber, the building in which this court sat and from which it took its name was one of that confused group of halls, court-rooms, galleries, chambers, passageways, and chapels that grew up in the course of centuries about the old palace of Edward the Confessor at Westminster. It was built in 1347 and was known from the time of its first construction by the name of Star Chamber, Starred Chamber, or as it appears more commonly in the French and Latin records of that time, *la chaumbre esteillée*, *la chambre des esteilles*, or *camera stellata*.¹ It was just such a building as the Painted Chamber, the White Hall, the King's Oratory, St. Stephen's Chapel, the Bell Tower, or any of the other parts of the old complex

^{1a} A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December 30, 1912.

¹ W. P. Baildon, *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata*, from the MS. of John Hawarde, pp. xlii-xlvi, 453-464.

of government buildings; and the origin of its name, like theirs, must be inferred from some peculiarity of structure; doubtless in this case from its ornamentation. It was situated at the extreme southeast corner of the group of buildings, just above the present abutment of Westminster bridge, and its windows looked out on the one side on the Thames, on the other on what is still known as Old Palace Yard. It survived until 1836 when with other adjacent old buildings it was torn down. Its former location is now shown by a tablet in the wall of the Parliament buildings.

In this room on every Wednesday and Friday during term time, and occasionally on one or two extra days at the close of the term, the court gathered. The law or court terms were the four periods in the year when all the courts at Westminster held their sessions. On January 23 began Hilary term, continuing three weeks. Then, after the spring vacation, came Easter term, continuing something more than three weeks, till Ascension Day. Trinity term covered another period of three weeks, falling in June or July according to the date of Easter. After the "long vacation", on October 9 began Michaelmas term, the longest of the year, lasting seven weeks.²

During these four periods Westminster Hall and its surroundings took on an activity quite in contrast with the relative torpor of the vacation periods. Judges, men of the law, suitors, witnesses, and all those drawn by their interests into this concourse thronged the old buildings and the adjacent streets. The Court of King's Bench, of Common Pleas, and of Chancery had each its place of sitting in the Great Hall; the Court of Requests and the Court of Wards and Liveries sat in the White Hall, and the Court of Exchequer held its sessions in an adjacent building. Analogous to these courts, and not far away, sat the Court of Star Chamber.

The fact that the Court of Star Chamber sat only twice a week, on Wednesdays and Fridays, not every day in term time, as did the other courts, is explained by the peculiar position of its judges. They were busily engaged on the other days of the week in other parts of the work of government. The Court of Star Chamber was simply a special Wednesday and Friday session of the Privy Council. The difference between the ordinary meetings of the Privy Council and the Court of Star Chamber was not a difference of men, but a difference of time and place of sitting, of procedure, and above all of functions. The Council met usually where the sovereign was, throughout the year, in frequent sessions. It became the Court of Star Chamber when on two days weekly during some sixteen weeks in the year its members betook themselves to Westminster and sat

² Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, lib. II., chs. 10-11.

in Star Chamber for judicial purposes. The Council exercised a general, widely extended administrative power; the Council at its meetings in the Star Chamber was a court of justice with a settled body of legal precedents and practices.

In addition to the privy councillors there were regularly summoned to the meetings in Star Chamber the chief justices of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, or two other justices of the law-courts in their place. As a typical session may be taken that of January 30, 1594, in the second week of Hilary term, when the court consisted of Sir John Puckering, lord keeper of the great seal, Archbishop Whitgift, the Earl of Essex, master of the horse, the Earl of Nottingham, lord admiral, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Thomas Heneage, vice chamberlain, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Robert Cecil, the queen's secretary, and Chief Justices Popham and Peryam—ten persons in all.³ The number present, however, varied from five or six to twelve or even fifteen or eighteen members. The attorney-general was usually present, although only as an adviser or prosecutor, not as a member of the court.

The addition of the judges to their membership and the presence of the principal law-officer of the crown were a great convenience to the councillors. Technical points of law were often referred to the judges for advice, and they freely volunteered their opinions on such points. Occasionally they were written to by the Council before a Star Chamber session, and asked to look up the law on certain matters about to come up there. The Council at its regular sessions often got into deeper legal waters than it felt safe in and was glad to put off something "till the next Star Chamber day, when some of the judges shall be present to give their opinions upon certain points of the controversy".⁴

There was no doubt in the minds of any of those present however that the Court of Star Chamber was a court of justice. In its other sessions the Council might investigate, exercise discipline, subject to torture, rebuke, put under bonds, or keep culprits in prison till they yielded to its commands, but it did not formally inflict bodily punishment or impose a term of imprisonment or a fine. Here however by well established precedent it possessed a power of punishment extending to all lengths short of the death penalty, and a jurisdiction limited only by its own will. In 1598 the court at a full session made a ruling that if any official or any subject of the realm should misdeemean himself in any manner the Court of Star

³ Baildon, *Les Reportes*, p. 3.

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council* (new series), VII. 154, 164, 169; VIII. 234; XVIII. 110, 124.

Chamber had power to examine and punish him. It had an unbounded pride and assurance of power.⁵

At the meetings of the Court of Star Chamber the lord chancellor was the presiding officer. All the other councillors, even though they were noblemen or prelates of the highest degree, as well as the assisting justices, awaited his coming before entering the room and taking their seats. Lord Chancellor Ellesmere had the distinction of never failing during twenty years to be ready and present at the usual hour of opening the court, awaiting the other councillors in the Inner Star Chamber. The great seal and the chancellor's mace were carried before him, he wore his hat even when he spoke in court, though all other councillors removed theirs, he summoned the judges who were to take part in the Star Chamber sessions, he chose the attorneys who should be permitted to speak before the court, he directed the whole progress of suits, he closed the series of sentences, and in case of a tie he gave the deciding vote.⁶

The "Clerk of the Council in Star Chamber" held a position only second to that of the councillors themselves. He sat in the chamber to attend to routine business on days when the court was not sitting, and on days when it did sit he wore his velvet gown and participated in many of the responsibilities, honors, and privileges of the members of the court.

The attendance of the sovereign in person at the Court of Star Chamber was extremely unusual. Elizabeth never attended, and James and Charles only in a few exceptional cases. The royal arms and a vacant chair with the mace and purse lying before it, however, attested the theoretical presence of the king or queen and the dignity of the court as clothed with all the sovereign's power. This dignity was well preserved. The court was a formal and orderly assemblage and all speeches made were in restrained and sober language and in the midst of the profound silence of all present except the speaker. Even when, in the midst of the session of April 27, 1632, some mice came from behind the king's arms and one of them, after running along a beam, dropped on the back of Lord Chief Justice Richardson, the incident, so tempting to careless risibility, only served to point a reference in the speech of the archbishop to the human vermin he was just sentencing to fine and punishment. June 21, 1602, certain ridiculous matter inserted by the plaintiff in his appeal moved the court to momentary laughter. The lord keeper said, "Although it be goode to be merrye some time,

⁵ Baildon, *Les Reportes*, p. 98.

⁶ Hudson, *A Treatise on the Court of Star Chamber*, pt. 1., sect. 6, in *Collectanea Juridica*, vol. II.

and this be St. Barnabas' daye, the longest daye in the year, yet let us not spende the whole day in this place with wordes to no purpose", and so they returned to work. In respect of sobriety this court bears a pleasing contrast to the Court of High Commission of the time, where the judges, even Bishop Laud, were often noisy, hectoring, coarse-grained and foul-mouthed.⁷

Contrary to prevalent modern opinion and in contrast with the regular meetings of the Council Board, the sessions of the Court of Star Chamber were open to the public. The situation of the Star Chamber itself on the extreme edge of the group of Westminster buildings gave ready access to it to all, except for the control exercised by the usher of the chamber. We hear of that official receiving profitable fees for providing convenient seats or standing-room for young noblemen and gentlemen "which flock thither in great abundance when causes of weight are there heard and determined". At times, when interesting cases were to be before the court, people came as early as three o'clock in the morning to get places. The House of Lords, when Parliament was in session, frequently adjourned over Star Chamber days, principally for the purpose of allowing those noblemen who were also councillors to attend to their duties there, but also doubtless to allow the lords who might be interested in the proceedings to be present. There are many other indications of the publicity of its sessions. When the queen wished to have the misdemeanors of Archbishop Grindal brought to the attention of the public, it is declared that he is to appear and answer thereunto in that public place. When the councillors think certain scandalous speeches that have been reported to them should be punished openly for the sake of example, they send the matter to Star Chamber. The Earl of Essex, in 1601, made it his first petition and looked upon it as his greatest favor that he was not humiliated by being summoned publicly into that tribunal. Sir John Smythe complains that he has been brought "into a public audience in the Star Chamber", when he might fairly have anticipated that his case would have been considered in some more private way. The Court of Star Chamber was as public as any other court.⁸

The usual morning session of the court began at nine and closed at eleven o'clock. Between the morning and afternoon sessions the members of the court withdrew to the Inner Star Chamber for an excellent dinner; for by old established custom a special dinner was served on Star Chamber days to the councillors and judges present,

⁷ Manningham, *Diary*, p. 53; Gardiner, *Reports of Cases in Star Chamber* (Camden Society, 1886), p. 138; Baildon, *Les Reportes*, p. 147.

⁸ Hudson, pt. 1., sect. 7, p. 48; D'Ewes, *Journals*, pp. 67-68; Strype, *Grindal*, p. 234.

the clerk of the court, and occasionally to the queen's law-officers and one or more other guests. Like all forms of expenditure, the cost of these dinners rose rapidly through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While the average cost to the treasury of such a dinner about 1500 was £2, at the accession of Elizabeth, it was about £5; by 1580 it had risen to £8 or £10, while in 1588 it averaged £18 and before the century was over sometimes ran as high as £21. The dinners on the thirty-six Star Chamber days of 1588, the Armada year, cost £622 12s. Calculating the number of persons present and transferring this sum into modern values, this would equal a price of about \$30 a cover for each meal. Numerous itemized accounts survive. A typical menu in Hilary term, 1594, when fifteen members were present, consisted of two hundred pounds of beef, thirteen joints of mutton and nine joints of veal, besides lamb, marrow bones, tongue, bacon, oysters, three kinds of poultry, eight kinds of game, pastry, oranges and lemons, ale, beer, and four varieties of wine. This was for Wednesday. On Friday, which was a fish-day, there were twenty-two kinds of fish, besides lamb, veal, and game, which in these post-reformation days do not seem to have been regarded as meat. All this was set out with plate, napery, perfumes, and various expensive forms of service, all paid for at excessive rates. Much of this wholesale provision doubtless remained over and found its way as perquisites to servants and followers, or as alms to beggars. Yet it is also to be remembered that this gross gluttony, shameful waste, and reckless expenditure on the part of a few favored officials extended through the very period when the queen's soldiers and sailors at sea, in France, the Netherlands, and Ireland were dying without sufficient food or pay; when the salaries of lower officials were far in arrears, and when England was losing golden opportunities to crush her enemies for lack of money to use when and where it was needed. The thrifty soul of Burleigh, it is true, did revolt at these expenditures, as is indicated by his many annotations on the accounts; and as a matter of fact the custom of dining at the Star Chamber was suspended for a time, though it was subsequently resumed and continued to be the custom.⁹

Such being the time, place, constitution, and external practices of the Court of Star Chamber, the next important question that arises is the nature of the cases that came before it. In describing these no better procedure can be adopted than that of a certain writer who practised before the court at the most critical period of

⁹ Cora L. Scofield, "Star Chamber Dinners", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V. 83-95 (1899); *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1601-1603, p. 245; Lansdowne MSS., I. 109.

its history and rose to be its clerk. In his own analysis of its powers he says:¹⁰

If on the one side I shall diminish the force or shorten the stretching arm of this seat of monarchy, I should incur not only the censure of gross indiscretion and folly, but also much danger of reprehension; and if on the other side I should extend the power thereof beyond the due limits, my lords the judges and my masters the professors of the common law will easily tax me for encroaching upon the liberty of the subject, and account me not only unworthy of the name of my profession, but of the name of an Englishman. . . . Therefore to avoid all offence, I will . . . declare, as briefly as I can, what matters are there usually determined.

Following Mr. Hudson's plan it will be perceived that the cases that are usually determined in Star Chamber, although at first sight of almost endless variety, really fall into two very general classes: first, cases of breach of public order; secondly, cases of violation of royal commands.

Riots, or assaults, which were not very clearly discriminated from them, were perhaps the most familiar, unquestioned, and natural occasions of Star Chamber action. Justice Shallow, stung by Falstaff's reckless beating of his men, killing of his deer, and kissing of his keeper's daughter, protests, "I will make a Star Chamber matter of it; if he were twenty Sir John Falstaffs he shall not abuse Robert Shallow, Esquire. . . . The Council shall hear it; it is a riot." In earlier times riots had occupied much of the attention of the Council both in and out of Star Chamber, but even in the comparatively orderly days of Elizabeth, James, and Charles there were many riotous disturbances connected with hunting, with enclosures, with disputes as to the ownership of land, the use of churches and churchyards, and a score of other occasions, all of which brought their harvest of complaints to the Court of Star Chamber. Such were the cases of Lord Dudley who in 1586 gathered six hundred of his tenants and friends and drove off the sheep and cattle of a rival, or Lovelace who in 1596 took ten men and violently released two of his followers who had been placed in the stocks by Lady Russell, or certain townsmen of Berkshire who used violence in enforcing their traditional right to kill rabbits in a certain warren, notwithstanding the grant possessed by its owner from the queen. Young noblemen and gentlemen and their trains of followers who indulged in private conflicts found their way from the London magistrates or the Marshalsea to the Council and from the Council to Star Chamber, where they were properly fined and otherwise punished or bound over to keep the peace. Such was the case

¹⁰ Hudson, pt. II., sect. 1, p. 49.

of a group of young gentlemen who in July, 1600, were punished because they sat up in the Mermaid tavern in Bread Street eating and drinking till two o'clock in the morning and then ran through the streets with their rapiers drawn, beat the watch, and uttered seditious words.¹¹

The conception of riotous proceedings as being proper objects of punishment by the Court of Star Chamber was extended to a number of other actions not technically riots or assaults, yet in their nature, origin, or accompaniments analogous to such disorders. Conspiracy, fraud, perjury, subornation of perjury, forgery, counterfeiting, threats, attacks upon men in authority, waylaying, challenges to duels—all shared, apparently, in the minds of the councillors the character of violence, and all were habitually punished in the Court of Star Chamber. The law-officers of the crown were especially inclined to prosecute offenders against the dignity of judges or other persons connected with the courts. An angry litigant who in 1602 attempted to stab a lawyer who had spoken against him was brought before Star Chamber and sentenced to have his ears cut off and to be imprisoned for life. One man had his ears nailed to the pillory at Westminster for traducing Lord Chief Justice Popham, another was sent to the pillory for saying Lord Dyer was a corrupt judge, another for writing a letter to Coke charging him with chicanery in practice, still others for writing a letter to the Mayor of Wallingford charging him with injustice, and for speaking disrespectfully to the Lord Mayor of London in the wrestling place at Clerkenwell. Forgery is also an exceedingly common offense and frequently and severely punished.¹²

A still less tangible form of disorder, yet one which was brought constantly into Star Chamber, was libel or slander. It was a period of libels. When Falstaff threatened Prince Hal and his companions, "An I have not ballads made on you all and sung to filthy tunes, let a cup of sack be my poison", it was not merely an idle old reprobate's vain speech. While he was ranting on the stage, a Sussex man was duly fined and forced to pay damages in Star Chamber for making up some verses about a neighbor: "Her face is long, her browes are black, her high wooden heeles they are in the fault", with a scurrilous refrain, set to the tune of "Tom of Bedlam". He had not only made and copied the verses, but showed them to Mrs. Palmer as he was in her shop "buying of sugar". In 1627 three

¹¹ Gardiner, *Reports of Cases in Star Chamber*, pp. 145-146; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. III., appendix; Baildon, *Les Reportes*, pp. 49, 114; Lansdowne MSS., vol. LXXXIII., ff. 209-210.

¹² Hudson, pt. II., sect. 11; Lansdowne MSS., vol. VI., f. 33; Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. III., app., p. 9 [8, 11].

London men were punished because "they did publish, divulge and sing several Libels to the Scandal of the Plaintiff in several ale-houses, and particularly one entitled 'A proper Song of a great Blockhead Woollen-Draper, dwelling in Holborn, who gave a Tailor's Wife a Yard of Old Frieze for a Jerkin', containing further matter unfit to be repeated in Star Chamber."¹³ This was but one form of what Hudson calls the "infinite precedents" of libel. They range all the way from a case where horns were set up at the gate of a man unhappily married, to the personating of the Earl of Lincoln in a play; from an abusive letter written to a rival and signed "Tom-tell-Troth" to the action of a poor servant in York sent to buy a quart of wine, who stopped on his way, listened to the reading of a scurrilous paper, laughed at it, and was punished in Star Chamber for sharing in a libel. If a hot reformer was dissatisfied with the conservative party he "putt forth a ballet" against it. Sir John Harington makes a memorandum in his diary of his own somewhat inconsistent intentions. "I will write a damnable storie and put it in a goodlie verse about Lorde A. He hathe done me some ill turnes. God keepe us from lying and slander-worke." The queen's attorney declares in 1602 that there are more infamous libels now than in all preceding ages. Next to riot and forgery it is more frequently punished in Star Chamber than any other single offense.¹⁴

So much for cases which were in some way connected with public order. Another whole class of cases the Court of Star Chamber seems to have taken up from quite a different motive, the enforcement of royal authority. Punishment for the violation of royal proclamations was a simple form of such cases. Such proclamations or ordinances had been issued and were being issued from time to time on a variety of subjects. In 1580 Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation forbidding any increase in the number of houses or lodgings in London, the opinion being then widely held that the population of the city was already larger than could be properly fed or kept in order. A subsequent edict to the same effect was issued in 1598 and others by James and Charles in 1609 and later. But rents in London were high, and teeming as its narrow streets and alleys already were, there was a constant influx of people and an almost overwhelming demand for houses or lodgings. The royal decrees were therefore frequently disobeyed and in numerous instances this disobedience was punished in Star Chamber. October 28, 1598, two Londoners, Messrs. Griffin and Scripps, were indicted

¹³ Gardiner, *Reports of Cases in Star Chamber*, pp. 149, 152; Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. III., app., p. 6.

¹⁴ Hudson, pt. II., sects. 10, 11; Harington, *Nugae Antiquae* (1792), II. 210; Baildon, *Le's Reportes*, pp. 143, 152.

before Star Chamber and fined £20 each, the former for erecting a new tenement in Hog Lane and renting several rooms to two poor tenants; the latter for dividing an old house in Shoreditch in such a way as to rent it out to seventeen tenants, "base people", as they are described in the charge. As late as 1634 men were still being punished for the same offense, a gentleman named Moor being fined £1000 in that year because he had built thirty coach-houses and stables and twelve new buildings for tenants in the parish of St. Martins in the Fields and refused to pull them down when the proclamation was reissued. A case based on the same principle came up in the Easter term of 1634. Fifteen soap-boilers in London were fined, imprisoned, and forbidden any longer to carry on their trade of soap-making, because, against the king's proclamation that only olive-oil and rape-oil should be used in soap-making, they had used fish-oil, and had further increased their criminality by meeting in a tavern and in quite modern fashion agreeing not to sell their soap at less than a certain price.¹⁵

In the same year a country squire named Palmer was brought before Star Chamber, fined £1000, and imprisoned for some time in the Fleet. He had violated the successive proclamations of James and Charles requiring gentlemen who owned estates in the country to live upon them by taking up his abode for several years in London. As a result of several unfortunate quarrels, on January 26, 1614, King James issued a decree against duelling. Soon afterward several men were fined £1000 each and imprisoned in the Tower for its violation.

The frequent punishments for engrossing grain and other articles of food, forestalling the market, and in other ways making the prices of the necessities of life higher than they need be were based on the numerous and ancient proclamations of the sovereigns forbidding men to hold back foodstuffs when they were needed by the community. The punishment in this court of those who issued unlicensed books was in the same way based on the decrees of 1566, 1569, and 1586 regulating the censorship of the press.

Closely connected with this guarantee of the force of decrees was the oversight of the validity of royal charters and their interpretation. Any person who disregarded or misinterpreted a charter of the king could be looked upon as a "contemner of the king's broad seal", and therefore was naturally brought to trial in the court one of whose special functions it was to enforce royal authority. Thence came the long disputes of the Staplers and Merchant Adventurers

¹⁵ Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. III., app., pp. 54, 60, 106, 109; *Yorkshire Arch. Journal*, XV. 450 (1899).

before Star Chamber in 1504 and 1510, between certain government monopolists, London merchants, and the German merchants of the Steelyard in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, between different factions in chartered towns, and between various chartered companies during the whole later history of the court.

Such being the principal classes into which the varied jurisdiction of the Court of Star Chamber falls, it becomes necessary to pay some attention to its procedure.¹⁶ Cases came before the court either as matters of public concern or as matters of private relief or satisfaction. Cases of the first kind were introduced by the attorney-general, those of the second by counsel representing the private party interested. The procedure was exactly the same in the two cases. A case might be brought to the notice of the attorney-general who then drew up a bill of complaint against the defendant. Or a private person might wish that someone who had offended him should be punished, and he then through private counsel laid his complaint before the court. The Court of Star Chamber was a criminal, not a civil, tribunal, yet the offenses of which it took cognizance were of such a kind as frequently to serve for the relief of private injuries. Its reputation for granting liberal damages doubtless induced many persons to bring private cases before it.

The procedure of the court was similar to that of the Court of Chancery. It savored far more of the Roman than of the common law. "The civilian's rule" was quoted with approbation by lawyers practising before it; the leading part in it was taken by the lord chancellor; and the more elastic nature of its jurisdiction and its practice was characteristic of a court of equity rather than of the common law. The petition or complaint was known as a bill; it must be written on parchment, signed by counsel, and filed with the clerk. It must allege only offenses properly punishable by the Court of Star Chamber and only such as the complainant held himself ready to prove. Otherwise he was in danger of being punished for bringing a false charge, which was not an infrequent occurrence.¹⁷ A writ of subpoena was then sent to the defendant, requiring his attendance in person on a certain day. In earlier times this appearance was always actually before the court or the council or the lord chancellor in his own house; by the time of James the appearance was made before the clerk of the court only, and somewhat later, since a fee of ten shillings was payable, defendants of any standing were actually waited upon by the under-clerk at their lodgings to enter their appearance.

¹⁶ Hudson; Lansdowne MSS., vol. 639, ff. 1-22, "The Course . . . in the Highe Court of Star Chamber".

¹⁷ Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. III., app., pp. 2, 38.

The defendant must enter into bonds to remain within reach of the court. He now had an opportunity to see and copy the charge against him, and within eight days he must file an answer to it, confessing its truth, demurring to it, or denying it. This answer must, like the complaint, be written on parchment, signed by counsel, and accompanied with an oath to its truth and to the willingness of the defendant to answer truthfully any interrogatories upon it. The formulation of these interrogatories by the plaintiff or his counsel was the next stage of the trial. Upon them the defendant was examined privately by the examiner, an official of the court, neither his counsel nor any co-defendant being present to advise him as to his answer. Nor did he or his counsel have any knowledge of what these interrogatories were to be till they were read to him by the examiner at a private conference. He must simply answer briefly each question as it was put to him, and then sign his answers as they were recorded by the examiner. As a matter of very general favor the interrogatories instead of being put to the defendant by one of the two examiners of the court at Westminster were placed in the hands of four commissioners, two chosen by each party from a list of six submitted by his opponent. These men acting under a formal commission issued under the great seal and provided with all the papers in the case, examined the defendant privately where he lived or at some place agreed upon by both parties and returned their formal written report to the clerk of the Court of Star Chamber. The plaintiff was then allowed to see the answer of the defendant to the interrogatories; and might if he wished put in a reply or a "replication" to this answer; the defendant was then allowed to draw up a "rejoinder" to this replication, and indeed a "surrejoinder", "rebuttal", and "surrebuttal" were provided for, though these last processes at the time of the greatest activity of the court had long become antiquated.

Next came the examination of witnesses; this followed the same general forms as the examination of the defendant. Either the examiner of the court or special commissioners examined such witnesses as were brought to their notice by either plaintiff or defendant, witnesses were then examined on oath and secretly, and their testimony, like that of the principals, written down and returned by the examiner or commissioners to the court. It is doubtless this private interrogation of defendant and witnesses without the presence of counsel that has given rise to the familiar modern expression of "Star Chamber proceedings", as meaning secret and irregular methods of examination and decision.

These examinations concluded the formulation of the case. The

plaintiff then entered his case in a general book kept by the clerk of the court. The lord chancellor from time to time examined this book and selected from it the cases to be brought up at the next Star Chamber day. Prosecutions brought by the attorney-general had precedence, and such others as seemed to the lord chancellor to need most immediate relief were taken in their order, one being usually set down for each Star Chamber day.

When a case was to be disposed of, the defendant was summoned by writ of subpoena to be present at the bar of the court on the appointed Star Chamber day. The case was then opened by the clerk of the court, the documents concerned with it read, or so much of them as the counsel for plaintiff or defendant asked for. Counsel also spoke in prosecution and defense, and answered such questions as were put to them by the judges of the court.

The course of procedure in Star Chamber was intended to be summary and inexpensive, but here as elsewhere court pleadings ran occasionally to very great length. A charge brought in 1596 against the Dean of Worcester and some others, accusing them of libel, "rehearsed all their lives", asked for the examination of 77 witnesses, and required 155 interrogatories on one side and 125 on the other. The Council complained that four subsidies could be paid or twenty cavalry horses provided for the defense of the realm at a less cost than the expense of these proceedings. Lord Burleigh measured in open court a bill charging certain men with perjury. It covered four skins of parchment and was found to be "nine foote longe". Stringent rules for simplicity were issued, but proceedings continued to be of abnormal length, and we hear of sittings from nine in the morning to six at night on one case.¹⁸

According to this regular procedure neither plaintiff, defendant, nor witnesses appeared before the court itself at any stage of the proceedings until the final appearance of the defendant at the bar at the close of the case. The whole series of proceedings: bill, answer, interrogatories, replication, rejoinder, and examination of witnesses, was carried out by subordinate officials of the court and prepared by them for its consideration. The court dealt only with documentary material. It was not in consonance either with the great position of the councillors as ministers of state or with the disciplinary functions they were fulfilling, that they should come into personal contact with this multitude of offenders, or should have to consider the undigested details of the cases. Their work in the Star Chamber was after all a part of their work as councillors and although it had to do immediately with individuals, its ultimate ob-

¹⁸ Baildon, *Les Reportes*, pp. 11, 54.

ject was the good order of the community and the enforcement of administrative measures. Nor, as busy officials with many other duties, could they have given the necessary time for the hearing of the complaints of plaintiffs, the explanations of defendants, and the testimony of witnesses. But there was one exception to this usual procedure. Occasionally a man was apprehended by some messenger of the government, brought before an official, and examined, though without oath, as to some action. If he acknowledged it he was brought to the bar of the Star Chamber, *ore tenus*, as it was called, to accept his punishment or to make his defense orally. Instances are by no means uncommon. In 1631 a farmer named Archer was brought before Star Chamber *ore tenus*, having confessed to enhancing the price of grain. He acknowledged his confession, submitted himself to the mercy of the court, and was sentenced to pay a fine of £100, to give £10 to the poor, and to stand in the pillory in three places, each for an hour, with a paper on his hat with the words, "For enhancing the price of Corne". Later in the same year nine others were brought before the court *ore tenus* and punished for the same offense. The next April a swashbuckling captain named Kelly was fined £200 and forced to apologize for writing a letter which was intended to call forth a challenge to a duel. During the performance of a play at Trinity College, Cambridge, he had jostled a certain Sir Arthur Gorge who had a lady on his arm at the time. Gorge threatened to cudgel him for the insult. Kelly wrote him a letter saying he was as good a gentleman as he, and would cudgel him when he got the opportunity. The attorney-general getting possession of this letter brought him before Star Chamber *ore tenus*, treating this letter as a confession. The personal presence of this defendant did not prove to be favorable to his cause, for although he pleaded that he was a soldier and did not know the laws and was but lately come home from service abroad, the lord chancellor not only scolded him and declared him guilty, but was scandalized by his "long ruffian-like haire", and wanted to order it cut, though the other councillors voted against this particular form of punishment.¹⁹

Such cases of personal attendance of culprits and summary settlement of the charges against them were, however, far from the typical form of procedure, which was rather that of the orderly written complaint, reply, and testimony, and the discussion of this written evidence, such as has been described. There was much objection to the *ore tenus* procedure even then, and various safeguards were thrown around it. It is not hard to see that it was

¹⁹ Gardiner, *Reports of Cases in Star Chamber*, pp. 43-49, 82-89, 112-115.

likely to lead to abuses, as does its modern congener "the third degree". A man suddenly arrested and privately and skillfully examined, overwrought, and perhaps entrapped into an unintentional and injudicious confession, then retained in the custody of a pursuivant until he was brought, without counsel, into the presence of the most dignified persons of the kingdom, was but ill provided with even such poor protection as the practice of the common-law courts then gave to a culprit.

The examination of the case having been completed, whether *ore tenus* or according to the more usual written procedure, the members of the court proceeded to give their sentences or "censures", as they were usually called. The councillor lowest in rank or most recent in appointment spoke first. He usually stated his opinion of the nature of the crime and of the degree of guilt of the culprit, speaking often at considerable length, then proposing a punishment which he thought suitable to the offense. Those next in rank above him spoke in order, each speaker stating his opinion and agreeing with the first as to the amount of punishment, or proposing some increase or diminution of it. The archbishop always spoke next to last, if he was present, and the lord chancellor last of all. There were, as has been said, often ten or twelve, sometimes fifteen or eighteen judges to speak and each usually improved the occasion not only to analyze the case and to express his abhorrence of the wickedness of the offender, but to lay down general principles, quote from Scripture, the classics, or the fathers, and grieve over the evils of the times.

There are few better opportunities for insight into the prevailing offenses, opinions, prejudices, and manners of any period than an examination into the scattered records of the proceedings in the Court of Star Chamber. Right from the clear sky of sixteenth-century religion comes the testimony of a man named John Baldwin "who questioned whether there was a God, if there were how he should be known, if by his worde, who wrote the same, if the prophets and the apostles, they were but men *et humanum est errare*, and such like damnable doubts, not suffered to be reade in the hearing of this corte". The very next year, 1596, Robert Fisher uses before the court "the heretical and execrable words 'that Christ was no savior and the gospels a fable'".

When in a time of dearth the government exercised its usual authority to force the selling at a fair price of stored-up grain, a man declared, "My goodes are my owne; the justices nor the queene nor the Counselle have to doe with my goodes. I will doe what I liste with them." His faith in the unrestricted rights of property, however,

did not save him from being fined £100 by the court, put in bonds for good behavior, wearing a paper on his cap acknowledging that he was a regrater of goods, and confessing his fault in public. An evidence of the early odium of the principles set forth in *The Prince*, is found in a session of the Star Chamber in 1595 when a scoundrel and turncoat is described as "a most palpable Macchiavellian". The Elizabethan interest in spelling is indicated by the attempt of the attorney-general to prove that a man is "no schollar, for that he wrote false ortography, because he spelled the action of the court 'prossus', whereas every scholler knoweth it should be 'proces', because it comes from *procedendo*". But as the critic spells scholar "schollar" in one place and "scholler" in another it is evident that the rules of etymology and spelling were not yet entirely fixed.²⁰

The value placed upon social rank is indicated by the action of the court in transferring a case which threatened scandal to a nobleman to the Privy Council where it could be settled privately, if not so effectually. A regularly adjudicated case declares that if a man called his equal a liar it was a punishable offense, because it was evidently likely to produce a duel. If a man called his inferior a liar it was not punishable because a duel was inconceivable in such a case, and the superior was simply correcting a mistake on the inferior's part. But the strongest impression of the character of the age is drawn not from conspicuous, isolated cases, but from the steady, continuous discipline exercised by an all-powerful paternal government over a restless, contentious, ingenious people during a period of particularly sluggish morals.

No characteristic of the practice of the Court of Star Chamber has left a stronger impression upon posterity than the nature of its punishments. They were of four general types, imprisonment, money fines, public acknowledgment of offenses, and public humiliation. No form of punishment used in Star Chamber was probably unknown in other courts, but the irregularity of the cases that came before it, the absence of definite statutory punishment provided for them, and the disciplinary element involved in its action, of necessity led to a flourishing of bizarre and excessive sentences in the procedure of this court beyond any other tribunal in English history. Examples are only too readily found. For instance, a rogue who in 1629 had falsely accused various noblemen of participation with Felton and himself in the murder of the Duke of Buckingham, on confession was sentenced by the Court of Star Chamber to be fined £2000, to be whipped from the Fleet prison to Westminster, and

²⁰ Baildon, *Les Reportes*, pp. 16, 19, 41, 104.

there set on the pillory with one ear nailed to its frame. Then that ear was to be cut off, his nostrils slit, and his face branded with F on one cheek and A on the other, for False Accuser. He was then to be returned to the Fleet prison, whence he was later to be whipped to Charing Cross, there to be placed again on the pillory with his other ear nailed fast and subsequently cut off. Thence he was to be sent to the work-house at Bridewell, there to remain for the rest of his life. That such a preposterous punishment differed rather in degree than in nature from others at the time is however indicated by the fact that this same culprit had already been whipped in Sussex and burned on the shoulder at Huntingdon assizes for personating another man.²¹ Every conviction in Star Chamber involved imprisonment for a longer or shorter period according to the will of the court or the pleasure of the sovereign. Imprisonment for life was not infrequently ordered, though probably not often actually enforced. Fines were usually of a considerable amount, one hundred, two hundred, and five hundred pounds being very usual sums. The liberal damages habitually given to injured complainants was doubtless one of the principal causes of the popularity of the court with those injured in any of the ways of which it would take cognizance. In 1631 Lord Falkland is given £3000 damages against Sir Arthur Savage for slander; Lord Savile is forced to pay £150 damages to a certain Sir John Jackson, whom he found hunting in a field of disputed ownership, struck with his sword, and pushed into a "plash of water". A man named Martin is forced to pay £100 damages to a neighbor and his wife for circulating libellous words about them.

Humiliating punishments extended all the way from requiring a cozening lawyer to confess his fault and wear a paper on his hat declaring his offense as he walked through Westminster Hall, or another to ride with his face to his horse's tail from Westminster Hall to Temple Bar and to be disbarred, to the most harsh and cruel whippings and suffering on the pillory. Standing in the pillory with a paper on his head stating his crime was a constantly imposed form of punishment. A harsher form required one ear to be nailed to the pillory while the culprit stood there. A still more severe requirement was cutting off one or both ears, or branding on the forehead or cheek letters indicating the offense. "The slavish habit of whipping", as a lawyer of the time calls it, was an increasingly frequent punishment in the later years of the life of the court and was, with the brutality of the time, inflicted upon women with especial frequency. "As to the woman, let her be whipped", "Let her

²¹ Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. III., app., p. 18.

be whipped in the open street", "For Katherine, his wife, I hould her fitt to be made an example of so foule an offense. She shall therefore be well whipped at Exeter and Colehampton." "To be whipped and confess her fault", "to be whipped in Bridewell", "to be fined 500 marks, to lose both his ears upon the pillory, to be whipped and imprisoned till he can find sureties for his good behavior", "to stand on the pillory at Westminster with one ear nailed, and at the assizes in Somerset with the other ear nailed, and to be fined 100 pounds", "to walk through Westminster Hall with a paper on his head, and to have his eares nailed to the pillory", "1000 marks fine to the queen, 200 pounds to the plaintiff, imprisonment during pleasure, nailing in two places, to be pilloried at Westminster and whipped from thence to the Fleet", such are typical sentences of slanderers, forgers, and false swearers before Star Chamber between 1594 and 1600. In 1596 three men who had confessed to counterfeiting warrants of the principal members of the Council were sentenced to stand in the pillory, lose their ears, and be branded on the forehead with the letter F for forger, and then serve perpetually in the galleys. Lord Burleigh suggested in this case that inasmuch as such burnings die out in a short time the men should be scarified on the cheeks by a surgeon with the letter F, and that some powder be put in to color it so that it would never disappear. To their credit, the other councillors did not give their approval to this barbarous proposal.²² Nevertheless we hear of a certain false accuser in 1595 who "after long imprisonment lost both ears on the pillory, was slit in the nose, branded on the forehead and condemned to further imprisonment for life". Sometimes the fanciful rather than the painful predominates in the sentences, as in the many cases of ordering men to ride with their faces to the horse's tail, or in the proposition of Lord Burleigh for the further punishment of two cheats, that he "would have those that make the playes to make a comedy thereof, and to acte it with there names".

The amount of money fines was graduated rather according to the need of impressing the community than in proportion either to the immediate offense or to the ability of the culprit to pay it, "*ut poena ad paucos, metus ad omnes perveniat*". In many cases, therefore, the amount was subsequently reduced, or probably in some cases pardoned altogether. Frequently indeed there was no choice. Those punished were so poor as to make the collection of a fine impossible. "It had neede be a hundred pound of wool", as the lord treasurer remarked when a very poor man convicted of forgery was sentenced to a hundred pounds fine. It was obviously futile to fine

²² Baildon, *Les Reportes*, p. 38.

a group of workmen in London who according to their petition had "no means of livelihood but their fingerends" £500 a piece. Tables still remain showing the proportionate reduction of Star Chamber fines in a number of cases. Nevertheless they were strictly enough enforced to place in some cases a crushing weight on those subjected to them, and to form a not inconsiderable part of the income of the crown. For two of the four terms in 1596 they amounted to £1381, and for two terms in 1598 to £1979.

The number of suits tried in the Court of Star Chamber cannot be determined exactly, because of the imperfection of the records. It can be said however that the number bears full testimony to the litigiousness of our ancestors. Hudson in his quotation of precedents refers by name to upwards of two hundred cases, and says he could count a thousand instances of a certain form of procedure. There were something more than 30,000 cases entered during the reign of Elizabeth.²³ Rushworth in his *Collections* gives details of 160 cases in the early years of Charles I. The Court of Star Chamber meets us everywhere in the life of the closing decades of the sixteenth and the first forty years of the seventeenth century. Great cases and small come before it; the nobleman, the clergyman, the merchant, and the peasant are either plaintiffs or defendants. Its actions are quoted, prosecution before it is threatened, its punishments are familiar spectacles. It is an active, conspicuous, influential, and normal part of the government during that period.

It remains to describe briefly the sudden cessation of this activity, and to discover if possible the reason for the downfall of the Court of Star Chamber. There is but little evidence of any opposition to it till just before the end of its existence. The legal writers of the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles: Camden, Smith, Crompton, Coke, Bacon, Hudson, Lambarde, all speak of the court in terms of the highest praise. Camden, about 1586, says of it, "If we look to its age it is most ancient; if we look to its dignity it is most honorable." Lambarde some five years later speaks of it in terms similar to those habitually applied to the queen herself, "this most noble and praiseworthy Court; the beames of whose bright Justice equal in beauty with Hesperus and Lucifer . . . do blaze and spread themselves as far as this Realme is long or wide". Coke says, "It is the most honourable Court (our Parliament excepted) that is in the Christian world, both in respect of the Judges of the Court, and of its honourable proceeding." Hudson writes as late as 1622, "Since the great Roman Senate . . . there hath no court come so

²³ *Cases before Star Chamber in the Reign of Elizabeth*, Publications of the Record Commission (3 vols.).

near them in state, honour, and judicature as this."²⁴ The fact is that the Court of Star Chamber was so integral and consistent a part of the system of government in control of the destinies of England during the sixteenth century and the first four decades of the seventeenth, that there could be no opposition to it that was not directed against the whole system of autocratic monarchy. With the extension of this government in Church and State the Court of Star Chamber had grown and developed, and it was destined by the very logic of the case to stand or fall with it. The judges of the court were the ministers of the government. On Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, they were the ministers who carried on the administration; on Wednesdays and Fridays, through much of the year, they were judges who enforced through judicial process their ideals as ministers.

Against this dominant system of government and against these ideals, there was it is true much opposition; opposition from the parliamentarian, from the Puritan, from a few common-law judges, from many lawyers, from a vast number of individuals of all classes in the country. But this opposition did not discriminate the Court of Star Chamber from the Privy Council, from the royalist decisions of the judges, from the high ecclesiastical claims of the bishops, from the autocratic powers of the crown. Yet as time went on, especially during the period from 1629 to 1640, when the antagonism of those in office and those opposed to them and their system was becoming constantly more accentuated; when Laud and the authorities of the established church were exercising all their powers to turn back the rising tide of Puritanism; when thousands of dissatisfied men were crossing the sea to New England to set up their own arbitrary standards in a new world; when the increasing bitterness and rapid development of party feeling can be traced everywhere from the split among the directors of the Virginia Company to the removal of Coke from his position as judge, it is no wonder that this difference of party was reflected in the actions of the Court of Star Chamber. There sat the councillors and the most royalist of the judges. There sat Strafford with his policy of the thorough enforcement of the will of a more or less enlightened despotism irrespective of the wishes of an awakening nation. The leading pleader was the king's attorney-general. Good royalist doctrine was constantly proclaimed there. On the very eve of the downfall of the system we hear the Archbishop of Canterbury quoting Gregory of Nazianzen's aphorism that "kings are living representatives of Almighty God".

²⁴ Coke, *Fourth Institute*, ch. 5; Camden, *Britannia* (1594), p. 112; Lambard, *Archeion* (1635), p. 217; Hudson, pt. 1., sect. 1.

During this period there is an obvious increase in the number of cases directed to the punishment of those who opposed or were disrespectful to officials, clergymen, or the sovereign, and a corresponding increase in the savagery of their punishment. Scores of men were prosecuted for resisting or abusing justices, bailiffs, or their clerical superiors. Two knights were fined, imprisoned, and made incapable of bearing office for the future because they had hindered the royal commission on knighthood, appealing to Yorkshiremen to stand for their rights and liberties, declaring that the Council of the North was "but a paper Court", and making other unseemly comparisons. A London merchant who in 1620 before the Council Board had "falsely, maliciously and seditiously said" that the merchants were "more screwed and wronged and discouraged in England than they are in Turkey", was sent before Star Chamber, fined £2000 and sentenced to make an humble apology at the Royal Exchange. In the same year another man who had repeated a rumor he had heard that the king went to mass with the queen, was fined £5000, committed to prison, and ordered to wear a paper on his head declaring his offense, and orally confess his fault in Star Chamber, at the bars of all the courts at Westminster, at Paul's Cross in London, and at the assizes of Suffolk and Huntingdonshire. This sentence does not strike one as a specially effective means of quieting a rumor, but it is typical of the fact that men were now being punished by the Court of Star Chamber not as offending individuals only, but as members of a party offensive to the government.

A few years later its policy was more severe, as may be seen in the well-known case of Prynne. In 1633, Prynne, a lawyer, a graduate of Oxford, and a man of learning, who was already deep in the religious pamphlet warfare of the day, published his *Histrio Mastix: the Player's Scourge or Actor's Tragoedie*. Archbishop Laud, who already knew and hated him, appointed one of his clerks to go through the vast volume of eight hundred quarto pages and cull out objectionable passages. Of these there was such an abundant crop that the author, the printer, and the archbishop's official who had licensed the book were all prosecuted by the attorney-general before Star Chamber. Prynne was charged with publishing a scandalous and libellous book against the state, the king, and the commonwealth. So offensive were his opinions and expressions found to be that after a trial lasting three days he was sentenced to pay a fine of £5000, to be perpetually imprisoned, to be deprived of his degree from the university and expelled from the Inns of Court, to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, to have an ear cut off

at each place, and to wear a paper declaring his offense. His books were to be called in and all copies publicly burned in Cheapside. This condemnation was accompanied with expressions of horror and contempt from every one of his nineteen judges. Prynne, crushed by his sentence, wrote an humble submission, and petitioned the Council to intercede with the king for a mitigation of his sentence. But nothing was yielded and the only alleviation that came to him was the slight mercy of the hangman who in return for a petty payment only cropped his ears, instead of actually cutting them off. On the other hand, his books were burned so close under the pillory at Cheapside that he was almost smothered with the smoke.

But even in his prison Prynne continued to write, and in 1636 secretly published two more pamphlets abusive of the established church. He was then, together with two other pamphleteers, Henry Burton and John Bastwick, brought before Star Chamber and they were all sentenced to stand in the pillory, to have their ears cut off (in the case of Prynne that part of them which the hangman had previously left), to be fined £5000 each and to be imprisoned for life without the use of pen or paper in three distant castles of Wales and the north. Prynne was also, on the special motion of Chief Justice Finch, ordered to be branded on the forehead with the letters S and L, Seditious Libeller. At this second punishment he fainted in the pillory, when after two hours' exposure the hangman did his work of cutting, as we hear, "very scurvily". Expressions of sympathy were now heard everywhere, and the journey of these men to their various prisons was an occasion for personal attentions from many men whom the policy of the government was fast consolidating into a party. The Council went one step farther and after some months transferred Prynne to the castle of Mount Orgueil, in the island of Jersey, and the others to similar prisons far from the conflicts of opinion in England.²⁵

These are only the most famous cases in Star Chamber during these ten years, when no Parliament was in session and the ministers carried everything their own way. When opposition was made to the collection of ship-money, the sheriffs of seven counties were in 1640 summoned before the Star Chamber for malfeasance in office in their neglect to enforce its payment. Wentworth prosecuted there some men who had made ill reports of his action in Ireland. Even a compromising bishop fell into the toils of the law of libel and subornation of perjury, and was fined and imprisoned in Star Chamber.

²⁵ *Documents relating to the Proceedings against William Prynne* (Camden Society, 1877), pp. 1-69.

In the year 1640 came the reckoning. The Short Parliament of April and May met and was dissolved with no mention of Star Chamber except an isolated complaint against it for helping to enforce royal monopolies and illegal taxation. When the Long Parliament opened in November of that year, and the demolition of the fabric of autocratic government was deliberately undertaken, the Court of Star Chamber received the first blows directed against it. On the first working day of Parliament a petition was presented to the House of Commons from Susannah Bastwick and Sarah Burton, the wives of those two victims of Star Chamber prosecution, and from John Brown, servant of William Prynne, complaining of the injustice of their sentences, the severity of their punishment, and their exile and sequestration. The House of Commons immediately ordered the prisoners to be released and brought by warrants issued in its name to plead their cause before it. Similar petitions soon came from other prisoners and called forth similar action. The introduction of the petitions was the occasion for speeches attacking the recent actions of ministers, councillors, and judges, in which can be clearly seen the intention of the parliamentary leaders to reorganize the government. Pym, Bagshawe, and Grimstone seldom failed to include the Court of Star Chamber in their complaints as they denounced the abuses of recent government. Early in December Prynne and his companions arrived in London from their various places of exile, in the custody of officers of the House of Commons.

A committee of the House was appointed to examine these cases and to take into consideration among other things the general question of the jurisdiction of the Court of Star Chamber. Within the next few weeks reports were made from the committee, in accordance with which many of the decisions of Star Chamber were reversed, declared "bloody, wicked, cruel and tyrannical", and those who suffered by them restored to their estates and honors and given damages against their judges. Early in March a violent speech against Star Chamber was made by Lord Andover in the House of Lords. March 30 a bill "for reforming the Privy Council and the Court called the Star Chamber" was brought by the committee into the House of Commons. June 9 this bill was finally passed and sent to the House of Lords. On July 8 the two houses had a conference on the bill, the Lords asking that the Court of Star Chamber should simply be limited in its powers and regulated, not abolished as proposed in the original bill. They yielded, however, to the pressure of the Commons, the bill was laid before the king, and after two or three days of reluctant delay he called the two houses

before him July 5 and gave his consent to the statute, described as "An Act for the Regulating of the Privy Council and for taking away the Court commonly called the Star Chamber". It appears on the statute book as 16 Chas. I., c. 10, and is still the law of the land.²⁰

But the Court of Star Chamber did not fall alone. Strafford was impeached in the same week with the first relief given to its victims. The impeachment of Laud was but a few days separated from the introduction of the bill for its abolition. Secretary Windebank was driven into flight during the progress of the debates. Lord Keeper Finch, after a brilliant exculpatory address in Parliament, was nevertheless impeached, and only escaped an almost certain conviction and execution by a wild journey across the Channel in an open boat. During the same months the judges had been subjected to serious attacks. The three judges of the Exchequer who had given the ship-money decision were arrested. Justice Crawley was impeached, Chief Justice Berkeley was arrested by a messenger of the House of Commons as he sat in his seat in the Court of King's Bench in Westminster Hall. The lesser ministers as well as the greater suffered. The name of Cottington, chancellor of the Exchequer, to whom as the lowest official in the Council it had so often fallen to propose the harsh punishments of Star Chamber, was on a list of proscriptions prepared by the parliamentary leaders.

The old system had fallen and the Court of Star Chamber had fallen with it. By July, 1640, the date of its abolition, of the group of councillors and judges who had sat in this court during the years that preceded the Long Parliament, the ablest, Strafford, had closed his stormy life on Tower Hill, his bitter "put not your trust in princes" scarcely silent on his lips. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, was fretting in the Tower, granted as a concession to his earnest prayers the use of pen and ink he had denied to Prynne and his fellow Puritans, and looking forward to the death on the scaffold that was soon to follow. Windebank was an exile in Holland and Finch in France. The king himself, the centre of the whole system, surrounded by a new and untrusted group of councillors, bound by constantly narrowing bonds of restrictive laws, was already drifting into that fatal policy which was to lead on to civil war, then to the scaffold at Whitehall, only a few rods from the Star Chamber.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

²⁰ *Statutes of the Realm*, V. 110-112.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CABINET, 1688-1760

PART I

THE English cabinet made its appearance in the seventeenth century at a time when the Privy Council was declining in importance.¹ During the eighteenth century it superseded the Privy Council as the important advisory body of the sovereign. In the long course of its development, which may be traced from the beginning of the reign of Charles I., and more dimly, perhaps, in the reign of his father, its origin in connection with the waning of the Privy Council was understood and acknowledged by contemporaries. "As the offices of the law", says Roger North, "out of clerkships, spawn other offices, so this council was derived from the Privy Council, which, originally, was the same thing."² The exact process, however, by which it developed from the Privy Council has not been clear. It may have begun as a secret body of advisers called together by the king rather as intimate friends than officials, and hence have gone on for some time in parallel development with the council; or it may have originated as a standing committee.³ More probably its origin is to be sought in both of these sources, but until the Privy Council Register has been studied in connection with the sombre piles of state papers and the numerous miscellaneous manuscripts of the Stuart period, no certain conclusion can be drawn.

In 1617 James I. created a secret committee of the Privy Council to deal with questions relating to the proposed Spanish match.⁴ Somewhat before this time Bacon had made his famous allusion to "cabinet counsels", excellent, indeed, for secrecy and despatch, yet "a remedy worse than the disease".⁵ The Spanish Committee was continued until the end of the reign.⁶ On the accession of Charles I., the Foreign Committee was instituted, and continued at least until March, 1640.⁷ These committees were not bodies supervising

¹ For the enlargement of the Privy Council under the Stuarts, the consequent division of its work among committees, and the decline of the council itself, cf. E. I. Carlyle, "Committees of Council under the Earlier Stuarts", *English Historical Review*, XXI. 673 ff. (1906).

² *Lives of the Norths* (London, 1836), II. 50.

³ Cf. H. C. Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax*, I. 59, note.

⁴ Carlyle, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 674, 675.

⁵ *Essays*, xx., "Of Counsel".

⁶ Carlyle, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 675.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 675-677.

or directing the general administration of the government; they had in charge merely Spanish or foreign affairs. They were parts of the Privy Council, and not bodies superseding it. Because of the secrecy of their deliberations, however, and their evident importance, they soon attracted the attention of outsiders. In 1624 the Spanish Committee is spoken of as the "Junta for Foreign Affairs".⁸ "June, 1625", writes Walter Yonge, "the King made choice of six of the nobility for his *Council of the Cabinet*."⁹ In 1630 Sir Thomas Roe declares that Vane "is of the Cabinet and one of those that Can read whispers".¹⁰ About this time Massinger, the dramatist, makes in one of his plays an allusion which shows clear understanding of the difference between the old council and the new secret body:¹¹

"Adorni. May I presume to ask if the ambassador
Employ'd by Ferdinand, the Duke of Urbin,
Hath audience this morning?

Astutio. 'Tis uncertain:
For though a counsellor of state, I am not
Of the cabinet counsel: but there's one, if he please,
That may resolve you."

After 1638, when it is the Scottish Committee of the Privy Council which deals with affairs of the greatest current importance, this body attracts attention in the same manner. In 1640 the commissioners from Scotland had a hearing "before his Majesty and these of the private Committy or Cabin Counsell in England".¹² Clarendon refers to it as "that committee of the Council which used to be consulted in secret affairs".¹³ He says that Strafford's advice—that advice which brought him at last to Tower Hill—was given in the committee "which they called *the Cabinet Council*";¹⁴ and that the younger Vane found among his father's papers the minutes of this "Cabinet Council", which he communicated to Pym.¹⁵ Clarendon also describes at length "the Committee of State", made up of a few trusted councillors, "which was reproachfully after called *the Juncto*, and enviously then in the court *the Cabinet Council*".¹⁶ In

⁸ Carlyle, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 676.

⁹ *Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq.* (Camden Society, 1848), p. 83.

¹⁰ St. P. Dom. (State Papers Domestic, Public Record Office), Charles I., CLXX., July 14, 1630.

¹¹ *The Maid of Honour*, I. 1 (1632).

¹² The Committee of Estates to the Earl of Athole. Athole MSS., *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*, 12, VIII. 26.

¹³ *History of the Rebellion* (ed. Macray, Oxford, 1888), II. 61.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 117.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 131.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 99. Cf. also III. 118.

1644 a Parliamentarian sneers at the Royalist "Cabinet or Junto".¹⁷ Even before this time the opponents of the king had lost faith in the Privy Council, since they understood that weighty matters were decided by a few of his favorites in secret consultation.¹⁸ John Selden and his associates gravely expressed this: "The sense of State once contracted into a *Privy Council*, is soon recontracted into a *Cabinet-Council*, and last of all into a *Favourite* or *two*; which many times brings damage to the publick, and both themselves and Kings into extreme *praecipices*."¹⁹

After the Restoration a similar part was played by the Committee for Foreign Affairs, stigmatized as the cabinet or cabal.²⁰ "I hear our carrying the vote for the naming Holland to be an Allie, much displeased the Court, at the Cabinnett the D. moved to have us dissolved", writes Thomas Thynne to Halifax in 1677.²¹ There now occur numerous allusions to Charles transacting business with the advice of a few of his favorites in private consultation.²² Francis North, writing of his political experiences in 1679, says: "It was Not long before he was summoned to the Cabinnett . . . he was taken in to the Most secret Recesses of the K Councells."²³ Lord Jeffreys was appointed a member of the "Cabanet or caball" in 1684.²⁴ For this period North describes the "posture of the Cabinnett"; it contained the lord president, the lord privy seal, the two secretaries of state, and, apparently, three others.²⁵ By the end of the Stuart period the cabinet council in the sense of a secret council was fairly well known to those acquainted with English political life. But there was as yet nothing definite about it except its character of privacy. It might be sometimes one body, sometimes another, with membership depending entirely upon the temporary wish of the king.

After the Revolution of 1688 the existence of a cabinet council was recognized and also the need of having it. An anonymous adviser urged William to make his government strong and at the same

¹⁷ *Mercurius Britanicus*, July 22, 1644 (British Museum).

¹⁸ Cf. Gardiner, *History of England* (ed. 1884), IX. 292.

¹⁹ Nathaniel Bacon, *An Historical and Political Discourse of the Laws and Government of England*, etc. (ed. 1739), p. 201. Written about 1649.

²⁰ Pepys mentions the "Cabinet" on a number of occasions. *Diary*, May 15, 1663; November 9, 1664; August 26, 1666; November 16, 1667.

²¹ Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax*, I. 129.

²² St. P. Dom., Entry Books, LXVIII., January 20, February 25, 1681/2; January 20, February 24, 1682/3; March 31, 1683; LXIV., January 29, 1683/4; April 5, 1684.

²³ *Memoranda Historica*, Add. MSS. (Additional Manuscripts, British Museum), 32,520, f. 251.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

²⁵ Add. MSS., 32,520, f. 253; *ibid.*, 32,523, f. 36.

time popular, by gratuitously acquainting Parliament "That he resolves to advise in all Emergencies for this next Year with the Marqu: of H or C. but not both Earl of Nottingham Earl of Maclesfeild Earl of Portland Ld Bp. of Salisbury or any other 5".²⁶ In 1690, William, reserved though he was and desirous of acting swiftly by himself, yet in a conversation with Halifax, "Agreed the necessity of a cabinet Councill".²⁷ In August, Marlborough communicated to Halifax "a scheme of a Cabinet Councill" including, among others, the lord president, the lord steward, and the two secretaries of state.²⁸ When the king left for Ireland in the same year, Mary wrote: "He had declared in Parliament, that the government was to be left in my hands, and in private had told me, who he intended to leave here as my Cabinet Council".²⁹ In the next year Nottingham tells the attorney-general to be ready on the Friday following "when the Cabinett Council is to attend the King at Kensington . . . His Maty would have yr Report laid before him".³⁰ Allusions to the cabinet now become more and more frequent;³¹ cabinet meetings seem much a matter of course;³² the body assumes definite shape and outline; and it is possible to understand something of its duties and functions.

Apparently the membership of the cabinet was not fixed rigidly as yet, but was coming to be regarded so. In 1694, Shrewsbury writes to William that the Marquis of Normanby and some of the other great officers insisted with warmth that they should be admitted as of right.³³ The cabinet could not, however, as yet maintain its existence or power. At this very time William, when leaving England, had left instructions that "there should be no cabinet council", but that instead the lord president, the lord keeper, the lord privy seal, and the secretaries of state should meet for consultation.³⁴ As late as 1701 Sunderland declared that it would be much

²⁶ St. P. Dom., King William's Chest, VI. 163.

²⁷ "Spencer House Journals", Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax*, II. 244.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 129.

²⁹ R. Doebner, *Memoirs of Mary* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 27, 28.

³⁰ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, XCVIII., December 1, 1691.

³¹ St. P. Dom., King William's Chest, XIII. 10 (1692); St. P. Dom., Entry Books, XCVIII. 434 (1692); St. P. Dom., William and Mary, XV. 177 (1697); St. P. Dom., Entry Books, XCIX. 530 (1698); Cl. 4, 12, 28, 68 (1699), 119, 136 (1700); CII. 33, 83 (1701).

³² "My Lord President has communicated yr Letter of the 24 instant . . . to the Cabinet Councill." Nottingham to Sir John Guise. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, XCVIII., April 29, 1692. "I suppose they will be at the Cabinet Councill on Sunday." James Vernon to Lord Chief Justice Holt. *Ibid.*, Cl., March 30, 1699.

³³ Cox, *Correspondence of Shrewsbury* (London, 1821), p. 36.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 38.

for the king's service, if he brought his affairs to be debated at the cabinet council.³⁵ Apparently the cabinet met in the king's palace at Kensington, with some regularity, on appointed days, though frequently summoned for special meeting. Most of the meetings seem to have been held in the evening.³⁶ So far as may be judged from the scanty materials available,³⁷ the king called in the members not only for advice and deliberation, but also for the mere transacting of routine business. Aside from the fact that this business was of an important and confidential character, it differed scarcely at all from the business transacted at the committee of council presently to be described. In the cabinet the king received petitions and communications, conferred with officials specially summoned, and rendered decisions.³⁸ It seems certain that at this time no cabinet meeting was ever held except in the presence of the king.

Under Anne the cabinet council continues much as in the reign preceding, but it is evident from the more frequent mention that it is continually becoming more important. The membership seems to have been ten or more; something which De Foe, in 1704, advised Harley to reduce.³⁹ The meetings took place usually at St. James's, in the afternoon or in the evening. It was very rare that the queen was not present.⁴⁰ Matters about which Anne wished to confer before giving a decision were formally presented in cabinet by the secretaries of state, who, after the meetings, communicated the decisions to the persons or departments affected.⁴¹ Those persons

³⁵ Hardwicke, *Miscellaneous State Papers*, II. 461.

³⁶ St. P. Dom., *passim*.

³⁷ Minutes of cabinet meetings occur very infrequently in the period before George I.

³⁸ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, XCVIII.-CI., *passim*.

³⁹ He believed that the Privy Council should take an active part in affairs, in which case the queen would need a cabinet composed merely of her treasurer and secretary of state. Lansdowne MSS., 98, ff. 223-246, printed in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXII. 132-143 (1907).

⁴⁰ Apparently the first instance of the cabinet meeting without the sovereign occurs in 1711. To examine Guiscard "the Lords of the Cabinet Council met at the Cockpit, at Mr. Secretary St. John's office". The names of those present are given. "The Duke of Shrewsbury and the Archbishop were the only members of the Cabinet that were wanting." Edward Harley, jr. to Abigail Harley, March 22, 1710/1. Portland MSS., *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, 15, IV. 669. It is certain, however, that this was not really considered a meeting of the cabinet, but of the cabinet members. The statute 9 Anne, c. 21 was passed because Guiscard "being under Examination before a Committee of Her Majesties most Honourable Privy Council", made his attack upon Harley. *Statutes of the Realm*, IX. 479. Cf. *Lords' Journals*, XIX. 251. In any event, it is evident that the name of the place of meeting—the king's cabinet or room—was beginning to be attached to those who assembled, even when they did not meet in the "cabinet".

⁴¹ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CII., CIV., *passim*. Hence it is that the letter-books of the secretaries are such a valuable source for the history of the cabinet at this time.

who were regarded as members of the cabinet council were supposed to attend all meetings; and when the presence of some other official was desired, he was specially summoned.⁴² For the most part the day of assembling seems to have been agreed upon from meeting to meeting, or else announced by summons from the office of the secretary of state, although sometimes cabinets are held with considerable regularity. At these meetings the queen received reports and special information;⁴³ considered memorials and petitions;⁴⁴ determined naval, military, and domestic policy;⁴⁵ conferred about diplomatic affairs;⁴⁶ and sanctioned proclamations and orders in council.⁴⁷

These things lie upon the surface. They afford, however, only a small amount of information about a group of counsellors privately giving advice to the sovereign. Just what this body was, is fairly clear, but how it had come into being, cannot be known positively until the immense mass of sources for the earlier period has been examined carefully throughout. Nevertheless, something can be stated with certainty now, and some confusion, which has pervaded the subject, can be cleared away.

By the end of the seventeenth century the executive council of England was the Privy Council, but the greater part of its importance had been lost, and the work which it did was largely formal in character.⁴⁸ The sovereign now received most of his guidance and advice and assistance from two smaller bodies, the cabinet council and the committee of council.

If certain aspects of the history of the cabinet have been misunderstood, perhaps no part has lain deeper under the yellowing

⁴² "The Queen desires to speak with Your Grace at the Cabinet Councill, which is appointed to meet on Wednesday next at five in the Afternoon at St. James." James Vernon to the Duke of Ormonde. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CII., March 23, 1701/2.

⁴³ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CII., April 4, 1702; CIV., June 27, 1702, March 5, 1702/3; CVIII., March 2, 1709/10; CX., August 24, 1710.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, CIV., June 3, 1702.

⁴⁵ In 1704 information about the Scotch plot was "laid before the Q Cabt Council. and H of Lds. by E. of N." Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29,587, f. 128. About the same time Sir Cloudesly Shovell was ordered from the cabinet to proceed on an expedition when he had twenty ships. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CV., May 1, 1704.

⁴⁶ "The Inclosed separte article with the House of Lunenbourg, was read at a Cabinet Councill on the 8th of this month and her Majty directed her pleasure to be signified to your Grace for yor. signing of it, and that this should be ratified together with the treaty." Hedges to the Duke of Marlborough. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CI., December 18, 1702.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, CIV., February 14, 1703/4; CXVI., April 12, 1714.

⁴⁸ E. Southwell, Privy Council Routine, 1692-1695, Add. MSS., 34,349, f. 18.

heaps of official papers than the subject of the committee of council. It has been shown that the work of the enlarging Privy Council was during the period 1603-1640 given over to committees, some of which at times tended to become more important than the council itself; and that some of them, such as the Scottish Committee and the Foreign Committee, attracted a great deal of attention, and, because of the secrecy of their work, were by contemporaries called cabinets, juntas, or cabals. These bodies may properly be regarded as prototypes of the cabinet, though it is not so clear that any one of them is an ancestor. Their work seems to have been much like what we know was the work of the cabinet council of William or of Anne, and this is particularly true as time goes on. In 1679 the Committee of Intelligence was appointed. For more than a year and a half it continued to meet every week or so in Whitehall. Frequently, though not always, the king was present. The attendance ranged from four to eleven, a usual number being nine. Among those generally present were the lord chancellor, the lord president, the lord chamberlain, and such important personages as Halifax, Sunderland, and Sir William Temple. Matters foreign, domestic, and colonial were considered here. Petitions were received, and orders and instructions determined upon. Reports were read from other committees of the Privy Council, and orders sent back. Consuls were appointed, instructions were drawn up for envoys, treaties were considered and approved. Of all these meetings formal minutes were written out, headed by a list of those present.⁴⁰ The significance of this body lies not in the fact that it was the most important committee of the Privy Council, but in the fact that it was to some extent taking the place of the Privy Council itself. A committee of the council, it was dealing not merely with important work of one kind, but was tending to take over all the important work of the whole council.

The same result, the essential replacement of the Privy Council by a part of itself, was being brought about in another way. The work of the Privy Council might usually be apportioned among a number of committees, but as time went on, the ablest and most trusted advisers of the king are found on all the important committees,⁵⁰ so that gradually the work of all the committees, that is the work of the Privy Council, came to be done by a small group of men. This concentration of work in a few hands becomes marked when presently we find mention not only of committees of the

⁴⁰ Register of the Committee of Intelligence, 1679-1682, Add. MSS., 15,643, *passim*.

⁵⁰ H. W. V. Temperley, "Inner and Outer Cabinet and Privy Council, 1679-1783", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 688 (1912).

council, but of the committee of council, that is the "Committee of the whole Council".⁵¹

The development of the committee system can in no wise be comprehended unless the nature of the committees is clearly understood. It seems fairly certain that in the earlier part of the Stuart period the committees appointed were standing committees of definite membership and for the supervision of business of a particular kind.⁵² Of limited membership also were the committees planned in 1668,⁵³ and this was the case with the Committee of Intelligence of 1679, for the members who were to constitute them were named when the bodies were formed.⁵⁴ As time goes on, however, it becomes apparent out of much obscurity, that the committees of the Privy Council are not for the most part standing divisions of the council, appointed to take charge of matters of a particular kind, but are rather such members of all the council as are competent or willing to attend to such business, that is to say, that they are committees of the whole Privy Council; in other words, that the only standing committee is the committee of the whole council, a body of varying composition and almost unlimited competence, consisting of the whole council, though attended only by a few members,⁵⁵ and that what appear to be different particular standing committees, are really the members of the committee of the whole council working now upon one kind of business, now on another, for the time being.⁵⁶ It cannot be stated positively⁵⁷ that in the period after 1688 there were no subsidiary standing committees of the Privy Council;⁵⁸ yet it can be regarded as certain that most of the council

⁵¹ Southwell, Privy Council Routine, Add. MSS., 34,349, f. 19.

⁵² "At least five permanent administrative committees can be traced down to 1640, besides others of a more temporary character." Carlyle, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 675. Bacon, writing in the earlier part of the reign of James I., approves of "Committees for ripening business for the counsel". He adds, "I commend also standing commissions: as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces." *Essays*, xx., "Of Counsel".

⁵³ Egerton MSS., 2543, f. 205. Cf. C. M. Andrews, "British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675", *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (1908), XXVI. 88-90.

⁵⁴ Cf. "Names of the Lords of the Committee of Intelligence. 1679." Add. MSS., 15,643, f. 1.

⁵⁵ J. Munro in Sir Almeric W. FitzRoy, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, II. vi-x.

⁵⁶ Cf. C. M. Andrews, *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVI. 120, 121 (1910); O. M. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765* (Cleveland, 1912), pp. 84-94; Munro in FitzRoy, *Acts of the Privy Council*, II. vi-x.

⁵⁷ As to this Munro is clear but uncertain (II. viii); Dickerson positive but obscure (84 ff.).

⁵⁸ Southwell, clerk of the Privy Council, writing about 1695, says that most of the council business is first "referred to the Proper persons and offices, in

business was now transacted by committees which, under their various names, were merely aspects of the same committee of the whole council.⁵⁹

The committee of the whole Privy Council soon becomes substantially what the most powerful of the standing committees had been, a small group of the most important, the most trusted, and the most efficient privy councillors, except that it is the essence rather than a part of the council. This result, the superseding to a great extent of the Privy Council by a few of its members, was brought about by two things: first, that most of the councillors ceased attending at the formal meetings of the council;⁶⁰ and secondly, that from all the councillors a small group of the abler and more trusted of the king's advisers were the only ones present at most of the committee meetings, and so came to be the actual committee of council. In other words, while there were apparently several different committees, they were actually committees of the whole council working upon particular business for the time being; while the committee of the whole council could be all of the council, it was in reality only a small part, because few of the members attended; and while different members might attend to the different kinds of business, for the most part the same members met to attend to each kind of business. Therefore, the committee of council, whatever it could be or ought to be, was coming to be a small and fairly definite group of the most

order to a full information of the fact by Reports"; and then mentions among others the lords justices of Ireland, the Committee of Jersey, and the committee of the whole council. Privy Council Routine, Add. MSS., 34,349, ff. 19, 20.

⁵⁹ In writing to the king in 1694, Earl Mulgrave advised: "The King may be pleased also to order a certain number of Privy-Councillours to be a standing Committee for the Plantations, and of such as are likely to attend it; and that it should meet two mornings in a week on fixed dayes, and not according to the leasure or humour of a President of the Councell . . . The King may settle also a Committee for Ireland to sit once a fortnight; but neither of these Committees will signifie any thing, unless your Maty: tell them solemnly at your going to Flanders, that you expect exact attendance at those Committees and that you have ordered the Cleriks to write in a book theyr names who shall fail any day to come." He adds significantly: "Your Maty. will please to observe that I humbly propose a select number for all Committees, instead of all the Councell, as it is now; because now every body's business is nobody's, whereas the other way, such will be charged with it who are most capable of attending and understanding it." St. P. Dom., King William's Chest, XIII. 10, 10a.

⁶⁰ In 1706/7 the Privy Council contained 63 members. From May to May, inclusive, the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer attended 24 times; Harley, 20 times; Prince George of Denmark, the lord president, and Sir Charles Hedges, each 19 times; the Duke of Somerset, 17 times; the lord chamberlain, 16 times; Sunderland and the lord chief justice, 14 times. More than half of the members, 36, attended 5 times or less; while 20 members did not attend a single time. Privy Council Memoranda, 1660-1708, Add. MSS., 35,107, f. 59. Thus it may be seen that the work of the Privy Council was substantially in the hands of about ten men.

important privy councillors, and so was not very different from the Committee of Intelligence whose members were appointed by name in 1679.

In the changing Privy Council, then, two lines of development can be discerned. On the one hand, the important business of the council is taken over by small standing committees or divisions of itself, such as the Scottish Committee or the Committee of Intelligence; on the other hand, affairs of various kinds are managed by various committees which, however, are merely aspects of the one committee of the whole council. These two lines of development converge, obscure each other, and merge into each other, but in the end the Privy Council is seen to have given its power to a smaller body evolved from within.

After the Revolution of 1688 it might seem to observers that the dignitaries who assembled in the council chamber at Whitehall were still the important conciliar assembly of England,⁶¹ but the official records show indisputably that the real work was now done by the committee of the whole council. The planning, the presentation to the sovereign, the deciding, was the work of the committee,⁶² little more than the formal procedure remaining to the council itself.

The committee met usually in the morning at the office of the senior secretary of state in the Cockpit at Whitehall.⁶³ The meetings were held apparently with more regularity than those of the cabinet council, the committee assembling, perhaps, at least once a week.⁶⁴ At these gatherings the sovereign was frequently present.⁶⁵

⁶¹ The contrary was clearly seen by some, however. Earl Mulgrave advised William not to insist upon attendance in the Privy Council, "because indeed it is so numerous, as that makes it unnecessary to exact it; especially considering how many of it are as well absent as present, that being ever since Charles I's time made rather a place of honour than of use". St. P. Dom., King William's Chest, XIII. 10a.

⁶² "The Opinion of the Judges does not answer the Question proposed, and therefore I have sent notice to them to attend Her Majesty in Council at Six a Clock this evening at St. James's, and Her Majesty would have You attend on the Prince's Side at Five this afternoon, Your Letter with the Judges Opinion being to be laid before Her Majesty at that time when the Lords of the Committee of Council will be present." Hedges to the attorney-general. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CV., February 22, 1704/5.

⁶³ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, *passim*. March 4, 1693/4, the committee was summoned to meet at the lord keeper's house. St. P. Dom., William and Mary, V. 116. For a summons to meet at St. James's, cf. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CV., April 29, 1704.

⁶⁴ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., June 30, 1702.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, LXII., November 30, 1680; XCVIII., July 8, 1690; St. P. Dom., William and Mary, V. 102, 108, 112, 116, 117, 118, 126, 129; St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., December 17, 1703; CV., April 29, 1704; CVI., January 11, 1707/8. In the minutes of these meetings, which are endorsed "Committee of Council", the king's name heads the list of those present.

In addition, such great officials attended as the lord president, the lord chamberlain, the lord keeper, the lord steward, the lord privy seal, and the secretaries, along with others. The attendance varied from three or four up to ten or twelve, for important business the usual number being seven or eight.⁶⁶ When necessary, outsiders were called in to give information and answer questions.⁶⁷ The meeting is spoken of as "Committee of Council",⁶⁸ "Committee",⁶⁹ or "Committee of the whole Council";⁷⁰ and the members are "Lords of the Committee",⁷¹ or "Lords of the Committee of Council".⁷² Formal minutes were taken by one of the secretaries for purposes of record, and also for the information of the sovereign when absent.⁷³ Much of the business was brought forward by the secretary, who afterward communicated decisions and orders.

The business was of varied character, resembling in general that which was brought before the cabinet council. All sorts of matters domestic, colonial, foreign, military, and naval, were passed in review. Bills were considered,⁷⁴ memorials, reports, and petitions were received,⁷⁵ business was prepared for the sanction of the Privy Council,⁷⁶ instructions were drawn up for the judges going on circuit,⁷⁷ and drafts of the royal speeches were made ready.⁷⁸ Memorials and representations from colonial governors were considered, and, when necessary, referred to the Board of Trade,⁷⁹ while Irish and foreign matters frequently came before the committee.⁸⁰ During the War of the Spanish Succession the raising and equipment of troops, the disposition of ships, and the care of prisoners, are matters of constant consideration.⁸¹ Within the purview

⁶⁶ St. P. Dom., William and Mary, V. 102 ff.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 103.

⁶⁸ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., May 27, 1702.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, XCVIII., July 8, 1690.

⁷⁰ Board of Trade Journals, XXIV., June 9, 1714.

⁷¹ St. P. Dom., Foreign Entry Books, XLVIII., September 26, 1710.

⁷² St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CVIII., May 23, 1709.

⁷³ Cf. "Minutes taken att the Committee of Council June 29th 1712 and approv'd by her Majesty." St. P. Dom., Anne, XIX., July 8, 1712.

⁷⁴ St. P. Dom., William and Mary, V. 134.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, V. 129.

⁷⁶ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., July 6, 1702.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, CIV., May 27, June 5, July 9, 1702.

⁸⁰ St. P. Dom., William and Mary, V. 117; St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CI., June 20, 24, July 14, September 6, 1702; CIV., December 17, 1703; CV., May 29, 1704; St. P. Dom., Anne, XVI., September 20, 1711.

⁸¹ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., May 19, 27, June 2, 3, 9, 30, July 7, 1702; CV., December 7, 1704, April 18, 1705, February 26, 1705/6, August 14, 1706; CVI., November 12, 1708; CVIII., March 18, 1708/9; CX., February 12, 1710/1.

of the lords of the committee came from day to day for deliberation and decision such diverse matters as the affairs of the Levant Company, the despatching of soldiers to Windsor to protect a French dyer from riotous apprentices, the suppressing of disorders in London occasioned by the high price of wheat, the instructing justices of the peace to investigate local disorders, the approval of communications from the mayors of towns, the better securing of dangerous prisoners in Newgate, the approval of suggestions from the Admiralty, the procuring of more seamen for the fleet, the consideration of a memorial from Governor Nicholson of Virginia requesting a supply of firearms, the raising of recruits to serve under the Duke of Ormonde, the bettering of the condition of soldiers serving in the West Indies, the giving assistance to the Vaudois, the consideration of "Estimates for Spain and Portugal", the conduct of Scottish affairs, the settlement of a dispute about the raising of recruits in Edinburgh, advising with the queen whether or not to order the secretary of state to submit papers demanded by the House of Lords, the protection of English merchants, and the recommendation for a pension. It may be remarked that the negotiations leading to the treaty of Utrecht were referred to the committee for deliberation and approval.⁸²

Thus it may be seen that the committee of council was supervising a large part of the activity of the realm. Along with the cabinet it decided or directed much that was worked out minutely in the departments, while many details of military and naval administration were attended to in the committee itself. Not only did it prepare and decide things for the Privy Council, but along with the cabinet it did most of the important work which had been done by the Privy Council in the days of its prime. Under the sovereign, the important executive and administrative work of England was now being done by the cabinet and the committee of council.

What, then, was the relation between these two bodies? This it is not easy to answer. An analysis of their activities makes it evident that they were doing much the same work, and doing it in much the same way. So truly is this the case that frequently, in the records, one can be differentiated from the other only because of the specific mention of the name of the body whose work is being described, and where "Cabinet Council" or "Committee of Council" is omitted, it is a matter of conjecture to which body the writer is

⁸² Hare, writing to Lewis, says that the lords seem disposed to comply with certain proposals made by the French emissary, though in regard to a certain point "my Ld [Bolingbroke] believes the Committee of Council must be again consulted". St. P. Dom., Anne, XX., November 12, 1702.

alluding.⁸³ Accordingly, a great deal of confusion has resulted. Some writers have realized that there were two bodies, but have not been able to describe them or distinguish them clearly.⁸⁴ Others have attacked this view vigorously, contending that cabinet and committee of council were different phases of one and the same thing.⁸⁵ At least one eminent authority has suggested that "committee of council" is but the shortened form of "committee of the cabinet council", and was the cabinet meeting apart from the sovereign, who was always present at a real meeting of the cabinet.⁸⁶ This conten-

⁸³ "His Maty. having directed that the Lords who Use to meet at the Secretaries Office, should some time this weeke have a particular meeting about the Citty Charter, and that My Lord Chief Justice and Yourself should be desired to be present, when the meeting is to be You shall have a Particular Notice from Mr Secretary Godolphin." The secretary of state to the attorney-general. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, LXIV., April 14, 1684. Cf. *ibid.*, XCVIII., September 20, 1689. St. John, writing to Dartmouth, desires that a communication be made to "the Lds of the Council that the necessary precautions may be taken". St. P. Dom., Anne, XVI., August 1, 1711. Numerous rough memoranda and minutes of business occur, *ibid.*, XII., XIII. They concern foreign and domestic affairs which were apparently transacted in some council at which the queen was sometimes present. Cf. also "Minutes" in St. P. Dom., George I., VIII., January 30, 1716/7.

⁸⁴ Cf. Morley, *Walpole*, pp. 145-148.

⁸⁵ Cf. F. Salomon, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums Königin Annas von England* (Gotha, 1894), p. 356, note. Salomon, quoting the assertion of the Duc d'Aumont (1712), that the cabinet council met only in the presence of the queen, but that the members of the cabinet also met by themselves in the office of the secretary of state, observes: "Diese Zusammenkünfte sind es offenbar . . . welche als 'Committee of Council' (Lords of the Council) bezeichnet wurden (vgl. Morley, *Walpole*, S. 143-147, gegen dessen Ausführungen ich mich richte)." ⁸⁶ W. Michael, *Englische Geschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1896), I. 439, 440, note. This contention is apparently based altogether upon the assertion of Friedrich Bonet, the confidential representative of Prussia in England. In a communication of December 24, 1714/January 4, 1715, Bonet, describing the all-powerful group of men upon whom George I. is dependent, says: "Je veux parler du Comité du Conseil du Cabinet, composé des principaux officiers, qui s'assemblent en l'absence du Roi, et qui minuent toutes choses, pour rendre compte ensuite du resultat à S. M. en Conseil." Michael, I. 440, note.

There can be no doubt, I think, that Bonet is referring to the committee of council, so that the only difficulty is the resulting definition of the committee of council as a committee of the cabinet council. I can only say at once that I believe that such a description is incorrect, since not only have I not found any trace of the existence of such a body, but among the hundreds of references to "council", "privy council", "cabinet council", and "committee of council", which occur in the writings of the period 1688-1715, I have found no reference to such a body as "committee of the cabinet council". It may be said, then, positively that whatever be the truth of Bonet's statement, the literal translation of his term was not in use among the Englishmen who composed the body which he describes, or who wrote about it; and it may be supposed that a foreigner, however acute and observant, would be less likely to comprehend the nature of a secret and ill-defined body than the natives themselves. On the other hand, supposing that his statement is accurate, his description need not comprehend

tion, which is based upon a misapprehension, but which in its conclusion is not very far from the truth, is in part responsible for the more serious error, that there was at this time a committee of the cabinet council, in the sense of a part, or inner circle, or "conciliabulum", of the cabinet itself.⁸⁷ The committee of council was never a part of the cabinet, and such a cabinet committee or fraction can scarcely be said to exist at this time.

The confusion has arisen from the fact that the cabinet council and the committee of council are so nearly similar both in function and in personnel as to be indistinguishable one from the other unless scrutinized with some care. The things which the committee does are for the most part exactly those things which are done by the cabinet council.⁸⁸ That which is considered in the committee in the morning at Whitehall comes up in the cabinet at St. James's or at

all that has been read into it. His expression may be descriptive and not partitive, which would make the term "committee of the cabinet council" equivalent to "cabinet—a committee". And this, I believe, was his intention.

⁸⁷ Temperley, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 692, 693. So far as I can judge, Mr. Temperley bases this contention entirely upon Bonet's testimony (*ibid.*, p. 693, note 43) and corroborates it only by quotations drawn from the period 1757 and after (*ibid.*, pp. 696, 697). For the period up to 1714 and apparently for several years following there seems to be no evidence on which to base the assertion that a smaller and more powerful body existed within the cabinet itself. In calling attention to what I believe is an error in Mr. Temperley's paper, I wish at the same time to confess my indebtedness to what is undoubtedly the ablest study of the cabinet which has yet appeared. I must here acknowledge, also, a greater debt. When Mr. Temperley became aware of the studies in which I was engaged, not only did he encourage me in the kindest manner, but he generously put into my hands a mass of notes which he had accumulated in the British Museum and in the Public Record Office. This material has been of service in the composition of the present paper, and will be of greater assistance in the studies which I hope to complete hereafter.

⁸⁸ In March, 1703/4, Nottingham found himself obliged to send explanations to the House of Lords concerning McLean and Ferguson in connection with the Scottish plot. Sir John McLean had revealed the conspiracy, regarding which he was examined by the cabinet council. The Lords asserted that in not arresting Ferguson, incriminated by the confession, the committee of council had encouraged the enemies of the queen. Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29,587, ff. 128-131. Somewhat earlier Nottingham writes to the postmaster-general: "This is to let you know that the Lords of the Cabinet Council do approve of the draught of the Letter you have communicated to me, and that it be sent by a small Vessel to the Governor of Calais to further it to Paris. It is also their order that you do give directions for repairing the two old Corunna Packet Boats, which are at Falmouth so as to be in a readiness to sail as occasion shall require." St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., May 26, 1702. At the same time he writes to Mr. Burchett: "The Two Old Paquet Boats which are now at Falmouth, are very much out of repair, and the Post Masters have received Orders to get them repaired with all speed, that they may be employed in the like Service as they were the last Warre. The Lords of the Committee being made acquainted, that the Admiralty have sent for these Boats, have therefore ordered me to give You this account of them, that you may lay the matter before His Royal Highnesse." *Ibid.*, May 28, 1702.

Kensington in the evening.⁸⁹ For the most part the members of the one seem to be the members of the other. So striking is the identity that it almost seems as though the members themselves did not always maintain a distinction.⁹⁰ Therefore it is not surprising that observers then and since have taken one for the other,⁹¹ or have seen in the two but two different aspects of the same thing.

That the cabinet and the committee of council were not identical, however, can be proved decisively. Again and again the two are named by the same writer with an undoubted distinction.⁹² Indeed,

⁸⁹In 1702, at a meeting of the committee of council, their lordships considered what measures should be taken to procure more seamen for the fleet, and gave directions for carrying such measures into effect. Nottingham to the lord treasurer. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., June 2, 1702. They also deliberated upon the proper disposition of the ships, concerning which they sent directions to the Admiralty. *Ibid.* On the same day disposition of the ships was considered by the members of the cabinet council, following upon a letter of Admiral Rooke read in the cabinet by Nottingham. *Ibid.*

⁹⁰"Understanding that the Goale at Dover is as full of prisoners as it can hold, I am directed by the Lords of the Comtee of Council to write to you that you receive into your custody such French and Spanish prisoners as shall be brought to you, and that you send an acct from time to time to the Navy board of what prisoners you so receive, whereupon care will be taken to make them the usuall allowance for support as was done the last Warr." Nottingham to the marshal of Dover castle. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., June 3, 1702. "I have read yor Lre of the 30 of May and have read it to the Lords of the Cabinet Council who very well approve of what you have done for her Matys service in relation to the French prisoners. I have also according to your desire writt by their Lops directions to the Marshall of Dover Castle to take into his custody as many prisoners as he can conveniently secure, as he used to do in the last Warr." Nottingham to the mayor of Dover. *Ibid.*

⁹¹Dr. Dickerson says that the committee of the whole council "appears to be the one great committee of the British government, the cabinet council". He declares, on what authority I know not, that since the attendance was "never more than six nor less than three, and was most commonly four, the resemblance to a cabinet council is still further emphasized". *American Colonial Government*, pp. 85, 86. Professor Andrews, whose researches in this field entitle him to speak with particular authority, says: "The committee of the whole council was never the 'cabinet council'." *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVII, 842 (1912).

⁹²Nottingham, writing to Blathwayt, says that the committee of council having learned that sufficient care is not taken of recruits desires a report in order that "I may lay the same before the Cabinet Council to morrow". St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., February 20, 1702/3. Bolingbroke, writing December 15, 1711, speaks of "the Committee of Council not sitting till to-morrow night, nor the Cabinet till Monday". Morley, *Walpole*, p. 145, note. Methuen in a letter to Stanhope says: "The Lds of the Comee. are to meet at the Cockpit to Morrow, where this Matter [negotiations about Mardyke] will be fully considered, after which, what passes there will be laid before H. R. H. in the Cabinet Council on Thursday." St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CCLXVII., September 11, 1716. Cf. also *The Daily Post*, November 23, 1719: "On Saturday was held a Chapter of the Garter, for electing the Earl of Sunderland a Knight Companion of that most Noble Order; the same Day there was a Committee of the Council at the Cockpit, and a Cabinet-Council at St. James's."

✓ they may be distinguished particularly in three things: their relation to the sovereign, their relation to the Privy Council, and their constitution or membership.

1. The cabinet was in its origin the confidential council of the king, receiving its name from the fact that it met in one of the royal cabinets or private rooms,⁹³ while the committee of council was in origin merely the effective part of the Privy Council. Scarcely ever in the period prior to 1714 did the cabinet meet except with the sovereign presiding,⁹⁴ but as time went on the sovereign was rarely seen at the committee.⁹⁵ The committee of council was undoubtedly
2. a committee of the Privy Council, while it was neither certain nor clear that the cabinet was such. The one was legal beyond question: the other was extra-legal in so far that it was novel and dependent upon the king's prerogative. Theoretically the committee of council merely performed Privy Council business, while the cabinet gave secret advice to the sovereign.⁹⁶ The committee of council met occasionally in the royal palace,⁹⁷ while the cabinet sometimes assembled in the Cockpit;⁹⁸ but almost always the cabinet met at Hampton Court, Kensington, or St. James's, while the sessions of the committee of council took place close to the Privy Council chamber, in the office of the secretary of state at Whitehall.⁹⁹ Finally, the most
3. important difference between the two bodies lay in the fact that

⁹³ Lord Trevor was reported to have been "four hours with the King in his closet. . . but those who were at Hampton Court, and saw him go into the cabinet, assured he did not stay half an hour". Portland MSS., *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, 15, V. 539 (1717).

⁹⁴ Cf. d'Aumont in Salomon, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums*, etc., p. 352: "La Reyne y est toujours présente." Also *ibid.*, p. 356.

⁹⁵ "I have laid yr letter . . . before the Queen at the Committee." Nottingham to Colonel Gibson. St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIV., December 17, 1703. "I am commanded to acquaint Your Lordship, that the Lords of the Committee of Council attend Her Maty. to morrow at Six a Clock in the evening in the Councill Chamber at St. James's." Hedges to Lord Chief Justice Holt. *Ibid.*, CV., April 29, 1704. In 1729 Queen Caroline attended a meeting of the "Committee of Council". St. P. Dom., George II., XIV., August 19, 1729.

⁹⁶ The Duc d'Aumont, writing in 1712, says that in the Privy Council are regulated domestic and routine affairs, "mais c'est dans le conseil du cabinet que se traitent les affaires les plus secrètes". Salomon, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums*, etc., p. 352.

⁹⁷ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CV., April 29, 1704; CVI., July 22, 1707.

⁹⁸ Cf. Portland MSS., *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, 15, IV. 669.

⁹⁹ "Le Conseil du Cabinet ne s'assemble en présence de la Reyne qu'une fois la semaine qui est le lundi au soir, à moins que pendant cet intervalle il ne survienne quelque affaire particulière. Les membres de ce Conseil s'assemblent dans le bureau du plus ancien secretaire d'Etat, et là ils préparent ce qu'ils ont à rapporter devant la Reyne." Duc d'Aumont in Salomon, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums*, etc., p. 356.

membership in the cabinet was limited strictly to certain great officers whom the king appointed to be his confidential advisers, while the committee of council was a committee of the whole council, and, though usually made up of the great officials and active workers who composed the cabinet, might also include other members of the Privy Council, if they chose to attend. Strictly, then, the membership of the committee could be more fluctuating and was less rigid than that of the cabinet; but in practice the two bodies were usually as much alike in personnel as they were in other respects.

During the Hanoverian period the committee of council declines in importance as the cabinet waxes great. For some time this is not evident, and the committee continues to be not merely active but busied with important affairs.¹⁰⁰ For a while it seems to remain what it had seemed to be before, a cabinet meeting apart from the sovereign. As such, it continues to do a great deal that is done by the cabinet, from which, in activity and composition, it can scarcely be distinguished. In 1716 the request from the Portuguese minister that an English fleet should convoy the Brazil ships to Lisbon "was read at the Cabinet Council . . . And it appearing to his Royal Highness and the Lords of the Committee . . . that the English Nation was as much concerned in the safety of that Fleet as the Portugueses themselves", the request was granted.¹⁰¹ About the same time a complaint against Colonel Congreve, lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, was laid before "the Lords of the Committee at the Cockpit". They thought that the matter "should be laid before H. R. H. in the Cabinet Council next day". As a result, Congreve was ordered home. The secretary of state notes that "This Matter is to be kept very secret, and no body yet knows any thing of it, but the Lords of the Cabinet Council."¹⁰² The committee continues to consider foreign and diplomatic affairs before the cabinet assembles, as well as to carry out what is determined upon in cabinet meetings.¹⁰³ In 1741, Sir John Norris writes: "At 7 this Evening I was summoned to a Committee of Counsell at the Duke of newcastle office, when a Clark of the Counsell was cald in for severall common orders of Counsell after which it was discorsed how to man the fleete and of the depending bill about seamen."¹⁰⁴ This gathering, which was

¹⁰⁰ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CXVI., CXVII., CXVIII., CXIX., *passim*; CCLXVII., August 10, 1716; St. P. Dom., George I., IX., June 9, 1717; XV., March 3, 1718/9; St. P. Dom., Various, I., August 19, 1729, and *passim*.

¹⁰¹ St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CCLXVII., July 17, 1716.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, August 10, 1716.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, September 8, 11, 15, November 17, 1716; January 9, 1716/7; CXX., August 19, 1717.

¹⁰⁴ Journals, Add. MSS., 28,133, f. 76.

attended by the cabinet members,¹⁰⁵ was substantially a cabinet meeting, from which it would be indistinguishable were it not specifically named. Nevertheless, the tendency is now, on the whole, for the cabinet to attend to the important matters of administration, diplomacy, and foreign policy, and for the committee of council, except as regards colonial business, to occupy itself with details, petitions, requests, and specific affairs. By the end of Sir Robert Walpole's administration the committee is largely occupied with routine and subsidiary things, while the cabinet, or rather an inner circle of the cabinet, is the real executive council of the nation.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Newcastle Papers, Add. MSS., 32,993, f. 136; also *ibid.*, 33,004, f. 47.

DOCUMENTS

1. Observations of London Merchants on American Trade, 1783.

THE original of the document here presented was found by the managing editor of this journal among the Pitt Papers at Orwell Park, Ipswich, the country seat of Captain E. G. Pretyman, M.P., to whose courtesy, and that of Mr. E. H. Hancox, librarian at Orwell Park, we are indebted for an opportunity to print it. The "Observations" were no doubt prepared for Pitt's information when the American Intercourse Bill was under consideration in Parliament in the spring of 1783. They are of particular interest because they set forth in some detail the collective views of a body of men whose interests were much at stake and whose opinions would naturally be consulted by any ministry seeking to determine the commercial policy of the nation.

The provisional treaty between Great Britain and the United States signed on November 30, 1782, had left the question of commercial relations between the two countries unsettled, but it was still hoped both by the American commissioners and also by some in British councils that provision for the restoration of commerce might yet be included in the definitive treaty or else that a separate commercial treaty might be negotiated; efforts to this end were accordingly continued, although without result, almost to the moment of signing the definitive treaty. There was, indeed, as yet no well settled opinion among Englishmen as to the form which the new commercial relations with their former colonies should take. It was inevitable that a strong faction should desire to continue the policy of the Navigation Acts and to retain for England a monopoly of the carrying trade; the mercantile interests on the other hand, while not yet espousing the doctrine of free trade, were nevertheless in favor of important relaxations of the restrictive policy. Between the two extremes there were several shades of opinion. Besides, there were the merchants and planters of the West India colonies, who were vitally interested in the direct trade with the United States. Meanwhile the pressing necessity for some provision for the restoration of trade relations with the United States was keenly felt, although it was generally conceded that any measures then adopted would probably be but temporary. Accordingly, on March 3, Pitt, who was then chancellor of the Exchequer, and at the time a strong advocate of a liberal commercial policy toward the United

States, introduced in the House of Commons a "Bill for the provisional Establishment and Regulation of Trade and Intercourse between the Subjects of Great Britain and those of the United States of North America."¹ The bill provided, in addition to the repeal of the prohibitory acts, that American vessels might enter British ports in the same manner as vessels of other nations and that American goods should be liable only to the same duties as if they had been imported in British vessels; it also allowed the same drawbacks and bounties on exports from Great Britain to the United States as on exports to British colonies in America and permitted a direct trade between the United States and the West Indian colonies on the same terms as to British subjects.² The bill was extensively debated during the next few weeks, was vigorously attacked by the advocates of the Navigation policy, led by Lord Sheffield,³ and was so radically amended⁴ that Pitt finally hesitated whether to push it further.⁵

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, XXXIX. 265. It was Townshend however who made the motion for leave to bring in this bill, urging that, until a general commercial system should be completed, it was highly important that some provisional regulation should be enacted. (See Debrett, *Parliamentary Register . . . of the House of Commons*, IX. 296.) Previously (on January 29) David Hartley had moved for leave to bring in a bill repealing the prohibitory acts (*ibid.*, p. 192; *Journals*, XXXIX. 123).

² An abstract of the bill is in the *London Chronicle*, March 6-8, 1783.

³ Lord Sheffield pursued the attack in a pamphlet, *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, which speedily ran to a sixth and greatly enlarged edition and seems to have had much influence in shaping the policy then adopted. The cause of the mercantile interests was voiced by Richard Champion, who came out shortly afterward with *Considerations on the Present Situation of Great Britain and the United States of America*. The spokesman of the West Indian colonies was Brian Edwards, *Thoughts on the late Proceedings of Government respecting the Trade of the West India Islands with the United States of America*. Numerous other writers aired their views.

⁴ During the debate on March 17 "Mr. William Pitt informed the committee, that the American commissioners at Paris, had seen the outlines of the bill, and were highly pleased at the generosity of Britain, and made no doubt but America would do every thing in her power to promote the interests of this country. This was answered by several speakers, who argued, that if the American commissioners liked the bill as originally introduced, their approbation could not be construed to the bill in its present form, as nothing could be more dissimilar than the two bills were in shape and tendency." (*Parliamentary Register*, IX. 501.) Henry Laurens, who was in London at the time and seems to have been frequently consulted by members of Parliament concerning the bill, was rather antagonistic. (See especially his letters of March 6, 15, 17, 26, and April 4, 5, and 10, in Wharton, *Dipl. Corr.*, VI.) Jay, on the other hand, was decidedly favorable to the measure: "Mr. Pitt's bill was a good one, a wise one, and one that will forever do honor to the extent and policy of his views, and to those of the administration under whose auspices it was formed." (Jay to Vaughan, March 28, *ibid.*, p. 349.) Adams was also inclined to like the bill.

⁵ The course of the bill in the House of Commons may be traced in the *Journals*, XXXIX. 265, 270, 278, 284, 289, 293, 295, 301, 303, 308, 316, 320, 325, 346, 353, 362, 409, 429. The fullest record of the debates is found in *Parlia-*

If the House, he said on April 2, was agreed in general upon the principle of the bill, he thought they might proceed; otherwise he would approve its postponement to a future day.

On March 20 Sir Cecil Wray said during the debate that the merchants had advertised a meeting upon the subject and that it would be better to wait for their sense of the principle of the bill and of its several clauses.⁶ On March 27 Pitt stated on the floor of the House that "the American merchants of the city of London had called a meeting upon the subject, and had since applied to him, desiring a little more time to digest their ideas, and make up their minds upon the business". In order, therefore, to give those who were so deeply interested in the effect of the bill the opportunity of maturing their opinions upon it, he would ask that the consideration of the bill be postponed until Friday.⁷ Again, on Friday (March 28),⁸

Mr. Chancellor Pitt informed the House, that there had been several meetings of the merchants of London trading to America, who had come to various resolutions on the different clauses in the bill, which they had thought proper to communicate to his majesty's Ministers: Their report was well worthy of the most serious considerations; but as he had not seen it till this day, he had not had time to consider it: In order, however, to have time to peruse the report before any farther proceeding should be had on the bill, he would move that the farther consideration of it should be postponed till Monday.

On Monday however Pitt announced his resignation from office, and on April 2 a new ministry came into power, and although Pitt's bill was further considered on April 2 and April 9,⁹ it thereafter died of postponements. The "Observations" of the London merchants, notwithstanding they bear the date July 22, may be identical with the report that was presented to Pitt on March 28; or they may be a later fruition of the merchants' views;¹⁰ an extensive, though not exhaustive, investigation has failed to discover other mention of such a document at this time.¹¹ At all events, as Parliament ad-

mentary Register, IX. 296, 409-446, 474-484, 501-503, 504-509, 540, 546, 547, 592-597, 600-603. The more important parts of the debates of March 7 and 11 and April 9 are contained in Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, XXIII. 602-615, 640-646, 724-730.

⁶ *Parliamentary Register*, IX. 508.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 540.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 592-597, 600-603. On April 9 the bill was put over to May 7, then to May 21, then to June 4, and it was not again called up.

¹⁰ Certain similarities between the "Observations" and Champion's *Considerations* (see note 2, *ante*) suggest that there is a possible relation between the two.

¹¹ Representations of one sort or another from the merchants were frequent during the following years. For mention of one such see Adams to Jay, January 4, 1786 (*Works*, VIII. 360; *Dipl. Corr. of U. S. A.*, 1783-1789, II. 558).

journed on July 16, the "Observations" could not have been delivered to Pitt after that date save with a view to possible future use.¹² It should be noted further that on April 5 the "Merchants and Traders of London interested in the Commerce of North America" presented to the king an address, in which they express the hope that the laws for the regulation of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and North America "may be made with that liberality which we conceive to be the true Policy of Commercial States".¹³

The proceedings of the new ministry as to American intercourse may be briefly told. During a discussion of Pitt's bill on April 9, Fox, who was now foreign secretary, and was evidently inclined toward a retention of the old policy, held out hopes that a treaty of commerce between the two countries would soon be consummated. His hopes, however, if such he really had, failed of fruition.¹⁴ Meanwhile he proposed as a provisional measure to repeal the prohibitory act, abolish the requirements of manifests, etc., for American vessels, and empower the king in council for a limited time to regulate commerce with the United States. These measures were pushed rapidly to a conclusion (May 12),¹⁵ and on May 14 an order in council was issued opening trade with the United States to a limited extent, somewhat further extended by order in council, June 6. On July 2, however, trade in American ships between the United States and the West Indies was practically prohibited.¹⁶ Of the subsequent proceedings of the British government it is not necessary here to speak. It should be added however that, besides, the economic influences which affected the attitude of the ministry and

¹² After the change of ministry the merchants presented their case also to Fox. See Laurens to Livingston, April 10: "I have conversed with Mr. Fox, from whom the body of merchants by deputation had just retired. Their errand, as I learned, was on the business of opening the communication between Great Britain and the United States. There is a general and pressing eagerness to that point." Wharton, *Dipl. Corr.*, VI. 366. For other interviews of Laurens with Fox see *ibid.*, pp. 358, 360, 493, 637.

¹³ *London Gazette*, April 1-5, 1783; Almon's *Remembrancer*, XV. 274. The address is signed by Edward Payne (whose name is attached to the "Observations") and about one hundred and fifty others. A similar address from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, on February 26, contained this passage: "We beg Leave to declare it to be our firm Persuasion, that the great Commercial Interests of this Country and of North America, are inseparably united." *London Gazette*, February 25-March 1, 1783.

¹⁴ These negotiations are recorded in Wharton, *Dipl. Corr.*, *passim*.

¹⁵ See *Commons Journals*, XXXIX. 362, 365, 368, 370, 377, 384, 386, 390, 392, 393, 394, 395, 409, 410, 411, 414, 415; *Parliamentary Register*, IX. 600-603, 603-607, 614-618; X. 1; *Parliamentary History*, XXIII. 724-730, 762-767, 894-896.

¹⁶ These orders in council are in the *Lords Journals*, XXXVI. 15, and in the issues of the *London Gazette* for May 13-17, June 3-7, and July 1-5, respectively; that of May 14 is conveniently found in Wharton, *Dipl. Corr.*, VI. 428; that of July 2 is in *ibid.*, p. 541.

Parliament at this time, there were three potent political factors: the commercial agreement between the United States and France, the treatment of the Loyalists, and the internal weakness of the United States.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TRADE, WHICH BEFORE THE LATE WAR SUBSISTED BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THAT PART OF AMERICA NOW COMPOSING THE UNITED STATES WITH SUCH REGULATIONS AS APPEAR PROPER TO BE ADOPTED FOR THE RECOVERY AND RETENTION OF A CONSIDERABLE PART OF THAT COMMERCE.

The Balance of Trade and the Wealth of Nations depend on the exportation of their Manufactures and produce, and on the Importation of Raw Materials to be used in those Manufactures, Bullion and such other Goods as may again be exported with profit to a foreign Market. The Commercial Regulations which the wisdom of our Ancestors established between this Country and the Colonies in North America were calculated to procure these advantages. Great Encouragement was given to the Importation of American produce and Great Britain secured a sure Market for the Vent of its various Commodities, a constant Nursery for its Seamen and consequently a perpetual Source of maritime Strength. As the Restraints on the Trade and Navigation of the Americans now cease, it is to be considered how our future Commerce with them, which must rest on the broad and firm Basis of mutual Interest, may be best secured;—For this purpose it will be necessary to bring into a comparative view the Encouragements formerly given to the Americans with the advantages derived from their Trade, the better to determine in what Instances the soundest National and Commercial Policy will furnish motives for a continuance of the same System.

Ships built in the United States being now deemed Foreign the use of which has always been held injurious to the national Interest, they cannot become British Bottoms, but when taken as Prize, and are prohibited in many instances to be employed;—It is therefore necessary to observe that shipbuilding was carried on in several provinces, but in New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay extensively. Such Ships were either sent directly to England for Sale or to the West India Islands with Lumber, Fish and other Articles and being there laden with produce, They were with their Freights consigned to the British Merchants in payment for Goods of which the greatest part were British Manufactures. This Branch of Business was carried on to a large annual Amount and contributed to increase the Shipping and Navigation of Great Britain, but must now cease unless the Legislature should consider it an advantage to exchange British Manufactures for American built Ships, which were a staple Article in those Provinces and a considerable means of Remittance.

Fisheries in various Branches were carried on to a great Extent by the people of New England, and nearly the whole produce to a large Annual Amount centered in this Kingdom. Spermaceti Oil must still continue to be sent to this Market, if not discouraged, because the consumption of it in other Countries has hitherto been inconsiderable, and the prices consequently lower. The other Species of Whale Oil except what the States retain for home consumption and what they may export

to the West India Islands, will be brought to this Market, because the Dutch Hamburgers and others who carry on the Daviss Streights and Greenland Fisheries supply the Continent with this article at moderate prices, except when they have an unsuccessful Season, in which Case Exports have been made hence. Oil was one great Source of remittance, more than 5000 Tons of both kinds having in some years been imported from Massachusetts and Rhode Island into the Port of London.

Whale Fins were likewise another article of Remittance, and deemed so necessary for various purposes that the Exportation of them from America was restricted by the 4th of Geo: 3d to Great Britain only. As it has been the object of the Legislature to give every encouragement to the Fisheries of British Subjects when the Americans were considered under that description, Whale Oil and Fins the produce of their Fisheries were imported under very light Duties, Train Oil being subject only to 11/8 $\frac{3}{4}$ per Ton and Whale fins to 47/6. P Ton, while the produce of Foreign Fisheries was burthened with heavy Duties, Train Oil paying £15. 16. P Ton and whale Fins £84. 2. P Ton which were tantamount to a prohibition.

Under these Circumstances should it be adviseable to encourage the Importation of Whale Oil and Fins from the United States, the Interposition of parliament will become immediately requisite; For otherwise the next Importation will feel the whole weight of the Aliens Duty, which the Articles cannot bear, It is therefore presumed it will be deemed expedient to admit them on a low or moderate Duty, which as is generally understood will fall upon the consumer.

Pot and Pearl Ashes made in different parts of America may by the 24th. of Geo: 2d. be imported thence Duty free on producing a Certificate that they were of the Product and Manufacture of the British Plantations, and being so useful and even necessary in some of our Manufactures their Exportation was by 4th. Geo: 3d limited to Great Britain yet a late Importation has been charged for want of a Certificate with a Duty of near £30. P Cent on the value of the Goods; This heavy Impost cannot be borne and should Government persist in exacting it we could not expect any Ashes immediately from America, but they would be carried to a foreign port and there shifted, which the difference of Duty would enable the American Trader to do with considerable advantage, so that it will be good policy in the Legislature, if not to grant an entire exemption from Duty as formerly, at least to lower it from 7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$ P Hund: with which these Articles are now chargeable to 2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$ paid on European Ashes; This appears a moderate Impost, and what these articles it may be presumed will bear, yet even this Duty will fall upon our own Manufactures.

Furs have been sent hither from the first settlement of America and upon exportation Bonds were given that they should be imported into Great Britain; affected as this Trade is expected to be in its Circuit by Canada a great Part of what heretofore came that way will most probably be now inverted into New England and New York, in which States as well as in Pennsylvania much Beaver was manufactured and even exported to the West Indies, until upon repeated Complaints from our Hatters the Legislature judged it expedient to forbid the Exportation of Hats under a heavy Penalty, and to restrain the carrying of them by Land or Water into other Provinces; The French it is to be feared will rival us in the manufacture of Furs; It is therefore presumed that

Beaver Skins and other Furs should be received Duty free, as the only means to render Great Britain the Mart for these articles, or should they still continue subject to any Duty, the whole should be drawn back on Exportation. It will moreover be necessary for the better security of this Trade that all the carrying places, Lakes Rivers and other Waters and all ways and passes by land be open to his Majesty's Subjects to pass and repass freely to and from the Indian Country, as well as to the Indians in like Manner from and to the Province of Quebec.

Naval Stores. The Navy and Navigation of England depend on the due supply of necessary Stores which formerly were brought from foreign Countries in foreign Shipping and paid for at exorbitant and arbitrary Rates with Money or Bullion to the great prejudice of the Commerce of this Kingdom. To remedy such great disadvantages as well as to encrease our Shipping and to employ our Seamen, it was found expedient to encourage the Importation of Naval Stores from the Colonies by the following premiums Masts, Yards and Bowsprits 20/- P Ton, besides being Duty Free, Tar fit for Cordage the Barrel of 31½ Gallons 5/6, But if made from green Trees as described in the Act 10/, Pitch the Hundred Wt. 1/, and Turpentine the Hundred weight 1/6.

Parliament having found it the Interest of this Country to give such Encouragement, and to confine the Importation of these articles to Great Britain, it appears highly proper to admit Naval Stores from the United States Duty free, and by preserving a Rival Market keep down the Prices that would otherwise be charged by the northern Nations, the Balance of Trade with which would thereby be rendered less disadvantageous.

Pig and Bar Iron has been imported from America Duty free by the 23. Geo: 2 Chap: 29. and with good policy, being only in its first Stage of manufacture, and serving as Ballast for our Ships; whilst the erecting of Slitting and rolling Mills has been discouraged because they interfered with the Manufactures of this Country; It seems highly expedient to continue the free Importation of Pig and Bar Iron.

Lumber has in like manner not only been imported Duty free but a Bounty was formerly given to encourage the Importation of square Timber Deals, Planks Boards and Staves; It is apprehended that it would be adviseable to allow the free Importation of these Articles and of Mahogany, Lignum Vitoe and all unmanufactured Wood, because they serve for Remittance, and do not interfere with any British Produce.

Logwood Fustick and all other Dying Woods being indispensably necessary for the use of our Manufactures should likewise be admitted Duty free,

Hemp and Flax were not only permitted to be imported free of Duty but a Bounty of £8 Sterlg. P Ton was originally allowed on the Importation of them; It appears therefore proper not to subject them now to any Duty.

Wheat, Flour and various sorts of Grain are shipped in very considerable Quantities from New York and Pennsylvania as well as from other Provinces, but on their future Importation they must be subject to our Corn Laws.

Beef, Pork, Gammons etc. are for the most part exported to the West India Islands; a free Importation of salted Provisions from America has heretofore been allowed.

Flax Seed is exported from America in large quantities to Ireland and it appears proper to leave to the Legislature of that Country to make such Regulations as may encourage its Importation.

Chocolate and Spermacoeti Candles, have hitherto been prohibited by excessive Duties, and are so likely to interfere with our own Manufacture that it is deemed impolitic to alter their Duties, unless by Draw back of the whole on Exportation.

Bees Wax has been frequently imported in considerable quantities, and being an Article of great use should be admitted as heretofore.

Tobacco the great Staple of Virginia and Maryland has heretofore been confined in its Exportation to Great Britain; The high Subsidy now paid down upon its Importation operates as a great Impediment to the restoration of the benefit of importing that Commodity for the Supply of foreign Markets because tho' the Duties are drawn back on Exportation yet the present Deposit of £25 P. Hogshead is so large as to require a Capital much more than adequate to any benefit that can accrue to the Merchant and because the wastage and shrinkage in the Warehouse between the Importation and Exportation will under these Duties subject the Importer to a very considerable Loss, which after deducting the 10lb. P. Hogshead usually allowed for such Wastage will not on the most moderate Computation be less than 20/-P. Hogshead.

The present Duties likewise discourage the consumption at home, and afford a great temptation to smuggling and it is presumed it will be found that from these concurrent Causes the Increase of Revenue since the Year 1775 has borne no proportion to the Augmentation of Duties on Tobacco.

It is apprehended for these reasons that a general reduction of the whole Duties to the Standard of 1775 must be highly expedient, as such a Regulation would be productive of the most salutary Consequences in inviting the return of a considerable part of that Commerce, which has for years been lost to this Country; And at the same time that it would discourage Smuggling, would make ample Amends to the Kingdom for any diminution of Revenue by the additional number of Ships which would then be employed and the encreased Export of our Manufactures.

From the many Rivals this Country now has for the Commerce of America it becomes the more necessary to remove every obstruction to our Exportation to the other European Markets; To effect this it is to be considered whether it may not be sound policy to admit the Importation of Tobacco of the Growth of the States to an Entry without any Deposit upon the Importers giving Bond for the Duties, and putting the Tobacco under the King's and Merchants Locks as heretofore practised.

Should not some such regulation take place it is much to be feared that many of the British Merchants, who have Debts Interest and Connections in these States will be led to establish Houses in Foreign Ports to the great prejudice of the Commerce of this Country.

Rice is a principal staple of Carolina and Georgia and being chiefly destined for foreign Markets it will be proper in order to remove Inconveniencies that may attend its Conveyance through the Medium of Great Britain, that Ships arriving with Cargoes of Rice from America in any of the Channel Ports, should be permitted to remain in Harbour for a limited time, without being obliged to report at the Custom house, to give the Correspondent of the proprietors of such Cargoes residing at a distance, a reasonable time to fix and declare the destination of the

Voyage And that the Master should not open his Hatches, so as to break Bulk nor be obliged during that Period to make any other Report of his ship or Cargo than "that he is arrived with a Cargo of Rice, and that he puts in for Orders" but at the expiration of such stipulated Period the Master should be obliged to make a regular Report of his Cargo, or depart for such other Ports as he may be destined for.

Rice under certain Regulations should be permitted to be reported Inwards for Exportation in the same Ship or Ships within a limited time (say 12 Months) free of all Duties, and for the better securing the payment of the Duty on such part thereof as may be consumed in Great Britain, the whole Cargo should be warehoused under the King's and Merchants' Locks, as is now practised with respect to bonded Rum, and if the whole Cargo, after making a reasonable allowance for screening and separating the damaged if any there be, which the Merchant shall have liberty to do for its preservation when necessary, shall not be exported in 12 Months before mentioned, the Merchant should be obliged to pay such Duties upon the same as the Legislature shall impose upon Rice consumed in Great Britain.

But if any part of the Cargo so warehoused shall be required for home consumption during the 12 Months aforesaid, the Collector of the Port where the Rice shall be deposited should at the Merchant's desire be obliged to allow his taking the whole or any part thereof into his own possession upon payment of the Inland Duties, and the quantity so applied for and taken from under the King's Lock should be endorsed off the Quantity originally bonded and be applied in Discharge thereof.

And if after payment of the Duties it should be the Merchants Interest to export such Rice or any part of it to any foreign Market the whole of the Duties should be drawn back provided it be exported within the usual period.

But should the arrival of a Cargo of Rice into any of the Ports of Great Britain from America happen at a time like the present, when it may be lawfully imported free of Duty these Regulations should be dispensed with and the Importer be permitted to keep the same on board his Ship for such length of time as he shall think fit or take the same into his own Warehouse without any Control whatever.

Indico a very necessary Article for our Manufactures has formerly been confined to be brought to Great Britain, and a Bounty of 4*d.* P. lb. was granted on the Importation of it. It should therefore at least continue to be imported free of Duty and if any part of such Indico should be afterwards exported the present Duty of 1*d.* P. lb. payable on Exportation should be discontinued.

Deer Skins being chiefly consumed in Great Britain the Importation of them as heretofore will of course in a great measure be confined to this Country and therefore as a better Market cannot be found by the American Merchant the Duties as they now stand are not deemed too high, but the whole ought to be drawn back on Exportation.

Upon a full Review of the various Branches of which our Import Trade from America consisted, it appears that Goods of the growth and product of that Country have been for the most part admitted Duty free; The Revenue therefore can suffer little or no Diminution by still receiving them in the same Manner; Tobacco is the only Article that can properly be considered an object of Revenue.

It appears also that many Articles of Produce such as Tobacco,

Indico, Fustick and all other Dying Woods, Hemp, Beaver Skins and other Furs, Pitch Tar and Turpentine, Masts, Yards and Bowsprits, whale fins, Raw Silk, Hides and Skins, Pot and Pearl Ashes, were confined to be brought to Great Britain only, But to encourage the Importation of them and other raw Materials, and to give them a preference in our Markets they were not only in most Cases exempted from Duties but even Bounties were granted on many of them, because they were essential to our Manufactures and beneficial to the Naval and commercial Interest of the Kingdom.

From the foregoing Considerations it appears expedient that all such Goods of the growth and produce of America, as have been imported Duty free, or on which Bounties have been allowed should still be admitted free of Duty, And that all Goods liable to Duty, should if declared for Exportation be also imported and exported Duty free, allowing a liberty to the Importer within a certain Time to vend them for home Consumption paying home Duties, the Articles remaining under the Care of the Custom house limiting the charges or to charge Duties only upon such parts as shall be declared for Inland Consumption For unless every difficulty in the way of Great Britain being the Medium thro' which the Produce of America is to be conveyed to foreign Markets, be removed, the Navigation of this Country will receive a most essential Injury by the Ships of other Countries being made the Carriers of it to Ports where it is ultimately consumed, and the Merchants of Great Britain will be deprived of receiving their Remittances from America in the principal Staples of that Country.

Exports.

It has been stated that the Importation of Goods of the produce of the United States ought by all means to be encouraged in some cases by exemption from Duties, in others by very moderate Duties being charged And if these Goods should be exported to other Nations of Europe that the whole of those Duties ought to be drawn back in order to render Great Britain the medium of that Trade; Upon the same principle unquestionably ought our Export Trade to be regulated whereby this Country has derived great Riches and become the Envy of other Commercial Nations.

Among the misfortunes that have attended the late unhappy War we have to lament the Wound our Commerce has received by the Introduction of the Manufactures of other Countries into the United States of America.

Formerly we exported to America various Articles imported from other Nations, but the Manufactures of our own Country formed the principal part of our Exports. Both these Branches will, under the present Circumstances require the encouragement of the Legislature.

Many of our manufactures are subject to an Excise Duty which is drawn back on Exportation, and Bounties are allowed on others when shipped to certain places. The Motives which induced the Legislature to grant such Bounties will point out the expediency of extending the same to those Articles when exported to the United States.

The necessity of granting liberal Bounties on our Manufactures will appear if we consider what will be the situation of many of them particularly those of *Silk Linen Cordage* and *Sail Cloth*, should not such Bounties be granted.

The Silk Manufacture has a claim to particular attention as being one of the most valuable, as furnishing Employment for a very considerable number of our poor, and as being in great Danger from the Rivalship of France.

Linens are a very considerable manufacture in this Country and are exported to America not only plain, but in large quantities when further manufactured by printing. A continuation of former Bounties will appear highly proper when it is considered that many foreign Markets for plain and printed Linens are now open to America.

The Manufacture of Cordage has long been carried on by the Americans to a considerable extent and it cannot be doubted but that they will still industriously apply themselves thereto unless the price of British Cordage should be so reduced in consequence of a Liberal Bounty being granted thereon, as to render the Manufacture of the Article an Object of less Importance to the United States.

Sail Cloth is also a very considerable Manufacture in this Country and requires every attention to preserve it. Holland and Russia have extensive Manufactures of this Article, and will prove very formidable Rivals at the American Market. The Bounty formerly granted must be continued if not increased, or this Branch of our Manufacture for Exportation will be lost.

Ireland also has a considerable Manufacture of Sail Cloth and will of course extend their Bounty on Exportation. It is proper to be observed that the Bounties on Silk Cordage and even Sail Cloth, are actually no more than the Drawback of the Duties paid on the Importation of Raw Silk and Hemp.

It cannot be supposed that America will apply to us for Foreign Goods unless the Duties paid here on their Importation should be drawn back when exported to the United States. If this Plan should not be adopted, they will have the strongest Inducements to procure such Goods from the first Markets; and Great Britain will no longer be the Emporium of that Branch of the American Commerce.

It is reasonable to expect that the Superiority of our Manufactures will insure them a preference to those of other Countries and if our future Trade with the United States should be carried on upon a liberal System, it is not likely that they will at present make new Attempts to rival us in those Manufactures, but will turn their principal attention to an object of far greater Importance to their Interest, The clearing and cultivation of their Land.

If in our past commercial Intercourse with North America we had not experienced what great advantages arise from giving Encouragement to Trade, If we had not been convinced that by the operation of this Principle both Countries were advanced to their late flourishing situation, we might draw a profitable Lesson from the States of Holland, which in consequence of a liberal System of Commerce, have, without the advantage of any Staple Commodities, rendered themselves the Emporium of the Trade of Europe;

The Committee having stated their observations upon the Trade with North America beg leave to recommend that Provision be made in the Treaty with the United States for the securing and recovering of British Debts upon principles similar to those of the Act of 5th Geo: 2d

22nd. July 1783. By Desire of the Committee of American Merchants.
EDWD. PAYNE.

[Endorsement.]

Observations

on the Trade of North America
by the Committee of American
Merchants.

2. *George Rogers Clark to Genet, 1794.*

THE following letter of General George Rogers Clark to Genet, the minister of the French Republic, recently came into the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia, and it is through his kindness that we are enabled to offer it to the readers of the REVIEW. Little explanation of the letter is necessary beyond referring it to its proper place in the collection of the correspondence of Clark and Genet concerning the proposed French expedition against Louisiana in 1793-1794, which was published in the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission for 1896.¹ At the time when this letter was written Clark had for several months been active, under a commission from Genet, in organizing the expedition; Michaux, an agent of Genet, who had spent the autumn in Kentucky engaged with Clark in intrigues and preparations, had returned to Philadelphia, ostensibly for funds; Lachaise, another agent, who had been busy in Kentucky since the preceding December,² was now taking his departure. Genet, meanwhile, had been recalled by his government, Fauchet, his successor, had revoked all commissions and ordered the expedition stopped,³ and Washington had issued his proclamation against it.⁴ Clark had learned of Fauchet's proclamation, but the news of the President's proclamation probably had not reached him.

A peculiarity of this letter as written by Clark is that every line

¹ American Historical Association *Report*, 1896, I. 930-1107. The commission's report for 1897 (*Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1897, pp. 569-679) included the Mangourit correspondence, relating primarily to an allied expedition to be conducted by General Elijah Clark against Florida, but bearing also upon the Louisiana project; and the report for 1903 (*Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1903, II.) comprised the correspondence of the French ministers in the United States, 1791-1797, much of which is concerned with the Louisiana part of the scheme. Some related documents were published in the issues of this journal for April, 1897, and April, 1898 (II. 474-505, and III. 490-516). Attention may also be called to Professor Frederick J. Turner's article on the initial stages of the Genet episode: "The Origin of Genet's projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas", published in the issue of the REVIEW for July, 1898 (III. 650-671).

² See *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 512.

³ March 6, 1794. *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1897, p. 629. See also *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1903, II. 306.

⁴ March 24, 1794. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I. 157.

(with two or three exceptions) begins with a capital. This form has been preserved in the printed text.

E. C. B.

Geo R Clark
Citizen Genet

LOUISVILLE Aprill the 28th 1794

Citizen Leshais⁵ will hand you this and will also inform You of the Situation of affairs in this Country. on the Receipt of your Letter⁶ by Citiz Michaux⁷ we agreed to Set about the intended Buisness on the Mississippi (In the Compition of it there was no Doubt) amediately. As no Doubt you have Larnd from him, it was found Nessecerry for him to go to Philedelphia to see you on Money Matters and return as soon as possible.⁸ in the Meane time I was to Set eavery wheele in motion in This Quarter which hath been so Compleately Done By Emecerrys etc in Louisana that the appearance of a Small force in that Country wold cause a Genl. revolt And upwards of two thousand men have been waiting With impatiance to penetrate into that Country⁹ Declare them selves Citizens of France and Give freedom To their neibours on the Mississippi, and we have Actually had a Small Camp Fortifyd within fifty Miles of the Enemys Lines and four hundred advance of This place, for four months past. add to this the univesal Applause of the people throughout those back Countrys in Favour of the Enterprise, the arristocratical party Excepted. the Democratick Society of Kentucky¹⁰ have made Some advances in amunition and Given all the encouragement In their power, and the whole have been impatiently Expecting Mr Michaux with Supplies of money. But since that agent left this I have receivd but one Letter

⁵ Auguste Lachaise, who went to Kentucky in December, 1793, as agent for Genet. His own statement of his connection with this affair is found in *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 511-515. See also *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I. 1002, 1078, 1088, 1102; Gayarré, *Louisiana under Spanish Domination*, p. 341; Martin, *Louisiana*, II. 223; and *Am. State Papers, For. Rel.*, I. 455.

⁶ The letter, dated July 12, 1793, is in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I. 986. Cf. p. 1007.

⁷ André Michaux, a botanist, who was Genet's principal agent in Kentucky. His activities are elucidated by numerous documents in the Clark-Genet correspondence (*Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, vol. I.). See also *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 666, and Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of Biography*. The *Journal of Michaux* is printed in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* for 1889.

⁸ See *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I. 1009, 1010, 1012, 1013, 1016, 1024.

⁹ Cf. the statement of Lachaise, in *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 513.

¹⁰ An account of the activities of the Democratic Societies at the time is given in a letter of the French commissioners, Fauchet, La Forest, and Petry, December 5, 1794, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1903, II. 500-502. There is a chapter on Democratic Societies in G. D. Luetscher, *Early Political Machinery of the United States*. See the farewell address of Lachaise to the Democratic Society of Lexington, *Am. State Papers, Misc.*, I. 931; cf. *AM. HIST. REV.*, III. 513.

From him Dated in December¹¹ last but under the
 Expectation of his arival buisness have gone on rapidly and the
 Intrest of the republick Continually in our view untill the
 Declaration of your Successor Mr Fauchet¹² of the 6th of March
 Made its appearance which hath Damp't the whole and inflam'd
 The minds of a great number of people
 When the report of the failaur Shold reach the inhabitants
 Of the Mississipi they will be miserable. Great number
 Of Friends Doubt the authenticity of this Declaration
 But if it is real, I hope Sir you will use eavry means
 In your power to have the expences we have been at
 Refunded. though it is not Considerable it is Suffisiant to
 Ruin me, and hurt many others you are sensible that
 So extensive a Corispondance that I must have had
 Throughout those extencive western Countrys as to
 Bring over the whole of them to the intrest of the
 Proposed plan must have been attended with expence.
 Could the republick procecute the war in other quarters
 Of the world on the same terms that I have Done it
 For them on the Mississipi, by paper only, for six
 Months past they might as I hope they Do Laugh at
 Their enimys. From the most moderate Calculation
 the Spanards have expended on the Mississipi, within
 these last Six months four Million of Dollars,¹³ when
 But a few thousands was Spent by us in keeping them in
 Such Continual Dread and now with a small Supply
 Of money and orders to persue the plan all
 their preparations would prove fruitless.
 I wright to you Sir as you was at that time
 At the head of this buisness and hope that you
 Will use your influence in Geting things so aranged
 As to undemnyfy us.¹⁴ the Great intrest that France have
 In this Country I think is worth their attention. the
 People in General yet Look up to them for something
 To be Done as they are out of all hopes of Congress eaven
 Favouring them in their negociations with Spaine respecting
 The Mississipi.¹⁵

I refer you to Genl Lashaise for information

¹¹ The letter, dated Philadelphia, December 27, 1793, is in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I, 1024.

¹² Jean Antoine Joseph Fauchet. See the account of his career in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1903, II, 288. What purports to be a copy of his proclamation of March 6, 1794, is in the Mangourit correspondence (*Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1897, p. 629). Mangourit, in Charleston, also doubted or affected to doubt the authenticity of Fauchet's declaration. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 645-647, 659-661.

¹³ *Cf.* the statement of Lachaise, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, III, 514.

¹⁴ Concerning Clark's claims against the French government and his efforts to collect upon them, see *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I, 1067-1077, 1084-1089, 1095-1098, 1101.

¹⁵ See the address of the Democratic Society of Kentucky, December 13, 1793, and the remonstrance of the citizens of Kentucky to the President and Congress, in *Am. State Papers, Misc.*, I, 929-931; also the Lexington resolutions, June 23, 1794, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1896, I, 1056.

On eavey Subject that you may wish to Inquire about as
He hath Takeing paines to Inform himself

I am Sir with much a Steem

Yours etc

G. R. CLARK.

3. *Despatch from the British Consul at Charleston to Lord
John Russell, 1860.*

THE following despatch from Robert Bunch, British consul at Charleston, to Lord John Russell, foreign secretary, describing a conversation with R. B. Rhett, is drawn from the Public Record Office, "Foreign Office, America", series II., volume 745. The interest of the letter lies not so much in the exposition of Rhett's views, which are well known, but rather in the fact that it reveals an effort to test the attitude of the British government toward a Southern confederacy before such a confederacy had been formed, and in the further fact that Rhett not only indicates the course which South Carolina would pursue but endeavors to forecast the policy of the Southern confederacy in several important particulars as well as to predict the action of the federal government in the event of secession.

Rhett could assume to speak for South Carolina with some authority. He had for some time been prominent in the councils of the state, and he took an important part in the convention which assembled on December 17, and which on December 20 passed the ordinance of secession. In the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, as chairman of the committee on foreign relations, he had opportunity to further the commercial policy which, in the interview with Bunch, he sets forth as the probable policy of the confederacy. His notion, however, of the easy acquiescence of European nations in the system of slavery proved to be erroneous, and his forecast of the position which the Confederate government would take in regard to the reopening of the African slave-trade was likewise incorrect, for the Confederate constitution prohibited the traffic.

The writer of this despatch, Robert Bunch, had been consul at Charleston since July 5, 1853, having been stationed (since 1848) first in New York and afterward in Philadelphia.¹ He sustained cordial relations with Southern statesmen, but his despatches of 1860 to his secretary of state, examined in London by the managing editor, do not bear out the opinion held at Washington that he was partial to slavery and the Southern cause. The negotiations conducted by

¹ Bunch's official career is chronicled in the *Foreign Office List* for 1879 and preceding issues.

him (under instructions) for obtaining the assent of the Confederate government to the Declaration of Paris of 1856, and the subsequent capture of his mail-bag, led to a diplomatic controversy between the governments of Great Britain and the United States. His *exequatur* was revoked by President Lincoln, nevertheless he continued to exercise his functions as consul in Charleston until, in the early part of 1863, the Confederate authorities also found fault with the British consuls in Southern ports and refused to recognize their *exequaturs*.² Bunch subsequently occupied important consular and diplomatic posts at Havana, Bogotá, and Carácas.

E. C. B.

No. 51.

Confidential.

BRITISH CONSULATE,
CHARLESTON,
December 15, 1860.

My Lord,

I received to day a visit from the Honourable R. Barnwell Rhett, with the particulars of which it may not be inexpedient that Your Lordship should be made acquainted.

I must premise by saying that Mr. Rhett is a person of very considerable distinction in this State, he has filled the Offices of Attorney General, of Member of the House of Representatives and of Senator of the United States, and has always been the consistent advocate of State Rights and the formation of a Southern Confederacy out of the present Union. In these respects he has generally been in advance even of his State, and, at one time, suffered much unpopularity from his persistence in these views. He, in fact, resigned his Seat in the Senate of the United States because his Constituents would not go the length that he deemed necessary. Now, however, he enjoys the triumph of seeing the entire State a convert to his doctrines, and his influence is, at this moment, very great, I am inclined to think that he desires the appointment of Commissioner to England from the new State or Confederacy that is to be. I enter into these details in the hope that Your Lordship may concur with me in thinking that the Conversation which I am about to relate is worthy of Your Lordship's notice.

Mr. Rhett commenced by asking me a few questions respecting the probable action of Great Britain and other foreign Nations in the case of Vessels which might arrive in their Ports from the seceding States, without Clearances from a Collector of Customs of the United States' Government. He wished to know my opinion as to such Vessels being admitted to Entry should the Federal Government throw no impediment in the way of their sailing, and give no evidence of seeking to coerce the Seceders back into the Union. His idea of the course most likely to be

² The entire affair is well set forth in Milledge L. Bonham, *British Consuls in the Confederacy*, pp. 20-47. For the affair of Bunch's mail-bag see also Moore, *Digest of International Law*, V. 20. Cf. Callahan, *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, pp. 117-119, 176; and Bancroft, *Life of Seward*, II. 197-203. For the correspondence see *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1861, *passim*, and 1862, pp. 1-12; *Official Records of the Rebellion*, second series, II. 643-645; *Sessional Papers*, 1862, vol. LXII.

pursued by the President is that He will not acknowledge the right, as an abstract question, of a State to secede, but that He will, practically, not interfere with it for so doing, but will surrender the Forts and Custom Houses upon receiving an official intimation that the State has left the Union.³ Under these circumstances, he thought that foreign Nations would be at perfect liberty to consider the Secession as an accomplished fact, and to use their own discretion as to recognizing or making Treaties with the new State.

To this I replied that I was in no way in possession of the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government upon such a subject, and that I could not undertake to pronounce an opinion respecting it. That, to my mind, a great deal would depend upon the view of Secession to be taken by the President and by Congress, by which view foreign Nations would, in a great measure, be guided.⁴

Mr. Rhett then came to what was, evidently, the real object of his visit, *viz.*, an exposition of the probable policy of the State of South Carolina, after Secession; a policy which he believed, would be in the main that of a Southern Confederacy, the formation of which, (at any rate as far as the Cotton States were concerned) he regarded as certain within sixty days from this date.⁵ He stated that the wishes and hopes of the Southern States centred in England; that they would prefer an Alliance with Her to one with any other Power; that they would be Her best customers; that free trade would form an integral portion of their scheme of Government, with Import duties of nominal amount and direct communication, by steam, between the Southern and British Ports. Thus, he hoped, that with Great Britain dependent upon the South for Cotton, (upon which supposed axiom, I would remark, all their calculations are based) and the South upon her for manufactured goods and shipping, an interchange of commodities would ensue which would lead to an unrestricted intercourse of the most friendly character.⁶ He did not conceal from himself that the feeling of the British Publick was adverse to the system of Slavery, but he saw no reason why that sentiment should stand in the way of commercial advantages. Great Britain traded largely with Brazil, which was a Slave-holding Country, and was, moreover, the largest customer of the Southern States for the productions of Slave labour.

³ See Buchanan's message to Congress, December 3, 1860, Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V. 626.

⁴ On December 27 the South Carolina authorities took possession of the custom house at Charleston, and Bunch at once notified Lord Lyons, British minister in Washington, and asked what course he consul should pursue in regard to the entry and clearance of British vessels. In the end he was instructed to remain at his post. See the correspondence in *Sessional Papers*, 1861, vol. LXV.; *British and Foreign State Papers*, LII. 1179-1182; cf. Bonham, *British Consuls in the Confederacy*, pp. 20-23; Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell* (first ed.), II. 352; (second ed.), II. 341; and Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, third series, CLXI. 814, 821.

⁵ The Provisional Congress of the Confederate States met in Montgomery on February 4, and a provisional constitution was adopted on February 8.

⁶ See Toombs to Yancey, Rost, and Mann, March 16, 1861, Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II. 3; cf. Callahan, *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, pp. 79-91; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III. 415-417, and citations.

In replying to Mr. Rhett's observations, I stated, in the most explicit manner, that I had no authority to speak on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, so that any remarks which I might make respecting the views he had propounded would be altogether my own; that I had, of course, no objection to talk the matter over with him, as one friend might with another, but nothing more. I then said that, so far as I could judge, there seemed to be no reason why his ideas should not be carried into practice; that Great Britain was much interested in the success of free trade, in the benefits of which She was a firm believer, and that if the South would carry out that idea, and perhaps open their Coasting trade to British Ships, I thought that such a movement would be acceptable to the British people. As regarded the question of domestic Slavery, I really saw no reason to apprehend an interference with it on their part, as it was a matter with which they had no direct concern; that they could indeed wish that their own example might act favourably upon the South in its estimate of the moral wrong of such a system of labour, but that beyond this they were not likely to go. Thus far, I agreed in the main with him, there was a point he had not touched, which appeared to me to offer a difficulty of considerable magnitude, and respecting which I should be glad to hear his opinion, I alluded to the revival of the African Slave Trade, which Great Britain viewed with horror, and which, so far as I was informed, was likely to be tolerated, if not encouraged, by the new Confederation. I expressed my opinion that Great Britain would require from that Body some very distinct assurance of a satisfactory nature on this subject before She could be brought to enter cordially into communication with it.

Upon this question Mr. Rhett took a very decided stand.—He said that no Southern State, or Confederacy, would ever be brought to negotiate upon such a subject; that to prohibit the Slave trade was, virtually, to admit that the Institution of Slavery was an evil and a wrong, instead of, as the South believed it, a blessing to the African Race and a system of labour appointed of God. He expressed his opinion that a requirement on the part of Great Britain that the Slave trade should be prohibited would render any understanding impossible. In that case, he continued, we should go to France, and offer her Commercial advantages of the most liberal character, provided She would not interfere with us on that question. Our place, he said, is to commence by levying a duty of 15 per Cent on all importations of foreign goods, which duty may be diminished to 5 per Cent, or withdrawn altogether, on the Manufactures of such States, as will fall into our views and make Treaties with us on our own terms. He had no doubt that France and Germany would gladly avoid the question of the revival of the Slave trade for this consideration, in which case, England would be left behind and lose the advantages which would, otherwise, accrue to her.

I remarked to Mr. Rhett that he seemed to me to be a little hasty in reckoning with such certainty upon the readiness of France and other European Nations; that apart from the universal detestation of the African Slave Trade felt by all Civilized people, he could not forget that nearly all the Powers of Europe were bound by Treaty to repress it, and that it was hardly likely that they would tolerate in one Nation, for the sake of Commercial gain, that which they had systematically and continually reprobated in all others.

Mr. Rhett then said that, altho' he personally, and nearly all the

Politicians of the Older States were opposed to the introduction of fresh Slaves from Africa, he felt assured that the newer States of the present Union, such as Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana, would insist upon the revival of the traffick; that they required fresh labourers, in view of the increasing demand for cotton, and that such labour could only be obtained from Africa. He thought, however, that a compromise might be effected, to meet the objections of the European Nations, and the new Confederacy be allowed to import Slaves for a limited period of five years, after which the traffick should cease. This, he remarked, was done by the Government of the United States in the early days of its existence.⁷

I repeated my belief that some satisfactory arrangement on this point would be essential to the recognition of the new Confederacy, and our conversation terminated.

I trust that Your Lordship will not disapprove the language I have held. I could not well avoid a discussion of the matter, and from the position of Mr. Rhett I deemed it wise not to discourage his approaches. There is, just now, a very strong feeling in favour of Great Britain, which is unusual, and may prove of advantage.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient

humble Servant

ROBERT BUNCH.

The Lord John Russell, M.P.

etc. etc. etc.

[Endorsed.] 1860

Charleston, December 5th.

Mr. Bunch.

No. 51.

Confidential

No Inclosure.

By R. M. Steamer from Boston.

Recd. Dec. 24.

Respecting a conversation with
Mr. Rhett respecting policy
of South Carolina after
Secession; possible revival
of the African Slave Trade

⁷ Both the provisional and the permanent constitution of the Confederate States prohibited the importation of slaves from any foreign country other than states and territories of the United States. Toombs wrote, March 16, 1861, to the Confederate commissioners in Europe: "We have prohibited the African slave trade and we intend in good faith to prevent it in our country." Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II. 3. For a full exposition of the policy of the Confederate government in the matter of the slave-trade see Benjamin to Mason, Slidell, and Lamar, January 15, 1863, *ibid.*, II. 401.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

La Campagna Romana, Antica, Medioevale e Moderna. By GIUSEPPE TOMASSETTI. Volume III. *Vie Cassia e Clodia, Flaminia e Tiberina, Labicana e Prenestina.* (Rome: Ermanno Loescher and Company. 1913. Pp. xii, 583.)

THE death of the author soon after the appearance of the second volume has left the completion of this notable work in the hands of his son. This will cause no change in the plan or character of the book, which will remain for many years the standard work of reference for the Campagna of the Middle Ages and the present.

In the reviews of the earlier volumes in this journal (XV. 831, XVI. 339) the general characteristics of the book were pointed out, and the third volume presents no new features. It deals with those parts of the Campagna that are traversed by the four roads, Cassia, Clodia, Flaminia, and Tiberina, to the north of Rome, and two of those running to the southeast, the Labicana and Praenestina. This involves the description of about eighty *tenute* and forty communes, some of them of special interest, like Bracciano, Nepi, Sutri, Paliano, and Cave. As the territory traversed by the Clodia and Cassia was largely under the control of the Orsini, and the Colonna had their headquarters in Palestrina, this volume contains much important material for students of the history of these great families.

In general the inadequate treatment of the ancient period, noticed in the preceding volumes, is somewhat more striking here. This, however, is partly intentional, and due to the publication of Ashby's excellent papers on the Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna in the *Papers of the British School at Rome*. Where Ashby has already published his material, as in the case of the Labicana and Praenestina, Tomassetti simply refers to him for the discussion of the remains of antiquity, and seldom differs with him except in the identification of some ancient sites, *e. g.*, Scaptia and Passerano (p. 506), Pedum and Gallicano (p. 516). In these cases Ashby's doubt is quite justified. In this part of the book there are some errors and some statements that might easily be challenged, as that the Porta Maggiore carries five aqueducts (p. 380), that Gabii is derived from Cabum (p. 496), that the Porta Ratumenna in Rome was between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills (p. 200), that the Ponte Lupo served only to carry the Claudian aqueduct (p. 522), and that the Ponte di Nona was built by Sulla (p. 477). The removal of Fidenae from its traditional site to a point considerably

farther north on the west bank of the Tiber near Ponte Storta is not supported by cogent arguments.

It is, however, with the medieval and modern periods that the author is chiefly concerned, and it is here that the great value of the book lies. In this third volume the reader is again impressed most forcibly with the astonishing amount of detailed information furnished, and with the labor that has been expended in toilsome and painstaking investigation of documents and archives. Only infrequently has the author been able to avail himself to any great degree of the work of others. To handle satisfactorily material of this amount and kind is no light task, and the book is far from being easy reading. It is ponderous in form and content, perhaps unavoidably so, but a little more care and skill in arrangement would have made it much more useful and attractive. An elaborate index will now be doubly necessary. There are some misprints, and one can not help wishing that the author would decide to be consistent in writing either *monastero* or *monistero*.

S. B. P.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Canute the Great, 995 (circ.)-1035, and the Rise of Danish Imperialism during the Viking Age. By LAURENCE MARCELLUS LARSON, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, University of Illinois. [Heroes of the Nations, edited by H. W. C. Davis.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. xviii, 375.)

THIS is the first treatment of the subject in English which takes into sufficient consideration the Scandinavian sources and literature. As a consequence the figure of Canute is placed in a new perspective against the Scandinavian background. Canute stands forth as the best representative of the viking age and movement (p. vii), and his career in Professor Larson's hands becomes "the history of Danish imperialism carried to a swift realisation" (pp. 2-3).

This point of view not only affects the apportionment of the narrative, but also leads to significant new conclusions concerning the policies of Canute. More than half the book is occupied with Scandinavian affairs. A chapter (I.) containing a brief survey of the position of Denmark in the northern world during the tenth century, which explains the heritage of imperialistic ambition received by Canute from his ancestors, two chapters (VIII., XIII.) on Scandinavian institutions, and three chapters (IX.-XI.) on Canute's conquest of Norway, are concerned almost solely with this aspect of the subject, and it receives a prominent place in four chapters (VI., XII., XIV., XV.) on the empire as a whole. Only three chapters (II.-IV.), dealing with the Danish conquest of England (1003-1016), and two (V., VII.), covering the early years of Canute's

rule in England, are devoted primarily to English history. But, while Professor Larson thus places England in a relatively less important position in relation to Canute's career than is customary with English historians, yet it is in his account of Canute's policies as king of England, which is an expansion of an earlier article printed in this journal (XV. 720-743), that he makes his most notable contribution by developing the close connection between Canute's imperial aims and his English policy. He points out, for example, that Canute before his acquisition of the Danish crown in 1019 was an alien ruling England without the possibility of securing support from external sources. This led him, contrary to the generally accepted opinion, to rule England with a heavy hand and with little regard for the feelings of his Anglo-Saxon subjects. Not until the possession of Denmark provided him with forces which could be used to put down possible English revolt did he adopt a deliberate policy of conciliation. His ecclesiastical policy was similarly affected by his relations to Norway. Canute entered upon a lukewarm alliance with the Church in 1020, but he carefully refrained from any attempt to make Christianity compulsory. Already he had visions of adding Norway to his dominions, and one of the principal forces on which he relied for support against King Olaf consisted of those Norwegian nobles who were discontented with the effort of their king to establish Christianity as the sole religion throughout his realm. Hence it was not until Norway had been conquered in 1028 that Canute took a decided stand against the old pagan faith.

These aspects of Professor Larson's work are generally excellent from the viewpoint of both the general reader and the historical student. For the latter, however, the value of the work is limited in some respects. The major portion of the narrative appears to be Professor Larson's independent estimate of the sources tempered by comparison with the opinions of the best English and Scandinavian historians, but three chapters (I, VII, XIII.) are little more than summaries of secondary authorities, and the treatment of both English and Scandinavian institutions seems somewhat inadequate. Some details also are open to adverse criticism. It is disappointing to be referred to the *Danmarks Riges Historie* as authority for an important statement (*e. g.*, p. 192) since no references are cited in that work. More regard for the conclusions of recent writers, on the other hand, would have improved the treatment of a few topics. It is indiscreet, for example, after the researches of Chadwick (*Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 355-366), to say without qualification that "the Old English kingship was elective" (p. 85). Occasionally an assertion is made more positively than the evidence appears to warrant. If, for example, Gunhild, wife of Ealdorman Pallig, was killed in the massacre of St. Brice's day, 1002, it is important because she was the sister of King Sweyn. Previous historians, except Munch and Steenstrup, have regarded William of Malmesbury as insufficient authority for asserting positively that she was, but Professor Larson makes the statement without explanation (p. 39) on the no

better authority of Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum Historiale*. But these criticisms do not impugn the fundamental soundness of Professor Larson's critical interpretation of the sources. The materials available for the study are difficult to evaluate rightly, and, so far as the reviewer can judge, they have been used in the main with care and discriminating judgment.

W. E. LUNT.

Les Origines de l'Influence Française en Allemagne: Étude sur l'Histoire comparée de la Civilisation en France et en Allemagne pendant la Période Précurtoise (950-1150). Par LOUIS REYNAUD, Docteur ès Lettres. Tome premier. *L'Offensive Politique et Sociale de la France*. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1913. Pp. xxxix, 547.)

It is a pity that a work as large as this is should be of so little historical value. Beginning with the thesis that France has had greater influence upon Germany than any other country, with magnificent scorn of actual history, the territory between the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, is assumed to have been "France" from all time and anything and everything emanating from it, no matter what the epoch, to have been of "French" influence.

"L'image de la France", we are told, "est le spectre obsédant qui hante l'histoire de la vie de société, de la littérature, de la philosophie, de l'art germanique depuis leurs origines jusqu'à notre époque. . . . Sur la plus reculée des cimes que nous avons reconnues dans l'histoire de l'influence française en Allemagne plane encore la brume matinale qui recouvre les horizons de la jeune civilisation occidentale. Elle se dresse pourtant, majestueuse et distincte, dans les impressionantes solitudes de la primitive Europe." The Teutonic mythology is of Celtic origin; the German nations in Gaul were "Gallicized", not Romanized; the Franks were "Gallo-francs"; the very names of their kings are "partiellement ou totalement celtiques" (M. Reynaud cites Childebert and Dagobert among other names as examples, though by the same token Ethelbert must also have been "partly Celtic"); Charlemagne was a "Gallo-franc"; the Niebelungen is "Gallo-franque". In fact, "historiquement il est impossible de découvrir quoique ce soit en fait de civilisation germanique primitive, une fois qu'on a retranché les emprunts contractés auprès des Celtes. Ce qui reste ce sont les déclamations sans importance de quelques Romantiques." Alas for Waitz and Dahn and Roth and Giesebrecht! They have all read history as did Sancho Panza.

After thirty-nine pages of rodomontade like this, which fills the introduction, one has little patience left when he reaches the body of the book. But in justice to the author it must be said that he occasionally gets on somewhat more tenable ground. The influence of French monasticism upon Germany through the Cluniac and Cistercian orders was great. But M. Reynaud adds nothing to what Sackur and Winter have

already written. Nor does anyone deny the social and literary influence of French chivalry upon Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But no one of these factors more than colored the history of medieval Germany. The depth and content of German history during the Saxon, Franconian, and Hohenstaufen epochs, the great achievements of the German people apart from the monarchs who were ruling, the national genius of men like Henry the Lion, Albert the Bear, and a host of bishops like Bruno of Cologne, Bernward of Hildesheim, Wiclin of Lübeck—all this utterly escapes the author. His political thesis is singular. It is that Germany never institutionally progressed beyond the Carolingian system, while France was born anew in the terrible crucible of the ninth and tenth centuries and so was able gradually to develop a real feudal monarchy (see pp. 157-158): M. Reynaud is very fond of applying the words "incomplète", "archaïque", "rudimentaire", "pas progressé", etc., to medieval German institutions. As a whole the work is a phantasmagoria of vain imaginings and historical distortions, all the more difficult to read with patience because of the author's cocksureness. Not content with using ordinary type, time and again he employs italics—sometimes half a page at a stretch—to advertise his ideas. Page after page (cf. pp. xxxvi, 54, 63, 101, 131, 157, 158, 179, 180, 184, 205, 221, 241, 245, 252, 257, 268, 271, 291, 364, 369, 370, 428, 438, 508, 525, 531, 536, etc.) flares with categorical affirmatives which have little or no historical weight in spite of a brave display of erudition.

J. W. T.

The Minority of Henry the Third. By KATE NORGATE. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1912. Pp. x, 307.)

THE period of a trifle more than ten years included in the minority of Henry III. is not a great period. There is very little in it, either upon the constitutional or the political side, that can be said to be of unusual significance. Probably, in permanent influence upon the future, the most important thing in these years is the development which is given to the newer methods of taxation. Into this subject Miss Norgate does not go. The reissues and the final settling of the form of Magna Carta are also of considerable importance. It would be very interesting if we could investigate fully the relation of the small council to the great council, to determine if a peculiar aspect was given to that relationship by the fact of a minority. Still more interesting would it be if we could establish the existence at this date of a council of regency. But these things we cannot do with the material now at our command. We cannot even determine conclusively the facts about the election, by the great council, of Ralph Nevill as chancellor, as asserted by Matthew Paris, though we may be reasonably convinced that no such election occurred. There is also a development going on in the law-courts during these years which as yet it is not possible accurately to describe. On the side of the political history, questions connected with the expulsion of the

French, the movements of discontented barons, relations with Louis VIII., and the termination of the minority, hardly equal in importance the constitutional problems of the period, but they admit of more confident assertion. It is in the political history that Miss Norgate is most interested. Upon the constitutional questions of the period she has little to say, and her comment upon the reissues of Magna Carta is hardly abreast of current opinion. I find no reference to the work of McKechnie.

The book presents all the characteristics of Miss Norgate's earlier volume on the reign of John, which was noticed in this REVIEW (IX. 352), and what was there said may be briefly repeated. The narrative is sober, straightforward, and very careful, based on a wide study of all the available printed material, and may be declared with confidence to be the most thorough study of the period yet made. The author has studied the Close and Patent Rolls more minutely than any earlier writer, and as a result is able to throw new light on many points, usually concerning minor matters, and to rectify some points of chronology of greater importance. For example, she assigns the first demand for a confirmation of the Great Charter, of which Archbishop Stephen Langton was the spokesman, to January, 1224, instead of 1223 as stated by Roger of Wendover, and shows that the three letters concerning the termination of the minority, ascribed to Gregory IX. in April, 1227, were from Honorius III. in 1223. The case seems to be made out satisfactorily in both instances. In general Roger of Wendover comes out rather badly from the minute examination to which he is subjected, though he would certainly fare better in a testing of his account of the troubles connected with and following the fall of Hubert de Burgh, 1232-1234.

Miss Norgate's estimate of William Marshal is interesting; it is carefully considered and sympathetic, and puts great emphasis deservedly on his character, but to the reviewer it hardly seems to do justice to his intellectual abilities. The account raises some questions as to the ordinary estimate of Hubert de Burgh, to the extent at least of making necessary a careful reconsideration. Difference of opinion arises of course on some points, but they are minor ones. The connection of the partial ending of the minority in 1223 with the financial difficulties of the time seems fairly obvious, but is not referred to. The meeting of a county court of Yorkshire in 1220 (p. 159) is not apparent in the evidence cited. In the comment on the pope's letter of April 29, 1221 (p. 167, note 5), the letters of the day before seem to have been overlooked (Pressutti, *Regesta*, I. 537; Bliss, *Calendar*, I. 80). The meeting of January, 1222 (p. 181), seems to have been a great council, not a synod. The composition of the king's council as described on page 178 does not differ from that of the small council during the preceding century. Professor Cannon's very thorough study of the battle of Sandwich, published in the *English Historical Review* for last October, was probably not accessible to Miss Norgate when she wrote.

G. B. ADAMS.

The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century. By R. H. TAWNEY.
(New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1912. Pp. xii, 464.)

In this volume Mr. Tawney, of the University of Oxford, combining both the results of his own investigations and the conclusions of other students, interprets the great agricultural changes transforming Tudor England with relation to the general course of European economic history. The field for such a study has long been open, but until now no one has essayed a complete explanation of the new factors in agrarian development that caused so much activity on the part of the government and such a reaction on state and peasantry.

Armed with the sharp analysis of economic theory as well as a scientific historical method, the author approaches a field of mooted points wherein such scholars as Nasse, Professor Ashley, Mr. Leadam, and Professor Gay have broken lances. The value of the study and its justification lies in the economic interpretation that is given to the agrarian revolution—for we are informed that it is worthy of the name "revolution". The coming of the enclosures, it is demonstrated, turned the English peasantry (protected by the Tudors as their source of power) from the broad highway of increasing prosperity that they had travelled during the fifteenth century, to a path of dwindling fortune that marked the entrance of competitive capitalistic agriculture. The abolition of labor services, at a time when money was decreasing in value and rent was held stationary by custom, that marked the prosperity of the small landowners in the fifteenth century, is neutralized in the century following by capitalistic farming of the most profitable kind, wool-raising. In a word the struggle is between the decaying yet protecting bulwarks of custom and the grinding forces of competition. The brunt of the shock falls on the small tenant. The tenure of copyhold is shown to be by no means inviolable, as Mr. Leadam has inferred from his legal studies; for the copyholder held "by copy of the court roll according to the custom of the manor". It was custom, not mere copyhold, that dictated the legal standing of the land title. That the copyholder had likewise no legal protection against ejection or increased fines and rents, unless he could prove he held by custom of the manor "out of the memory of man", is shown clearly by Mr. Tawney's citations of petitions and surveys.

While fullest praise should be given to the economic interpretation that the study presents, and to the admirable chapter on the Agrarian Problem and the State, some of the author's statistics—those which he uses to suggest that the enclosure movement, though it cannot be estimated accurately, was in this century of much more moment than Professor Gay would assert, statistics taken from different counties of England under widely varying conditions, make his conclusions in this instance of little value.

The rise of competitive rents is the subject of a concisely written

chapter. The new higher rents were occasioned chiefly in two ways: the extension of cultivation over the fringe of waste land surrounding the manor, and the allotting to tenants of fresh portions of the demesne land, afforded the lord a chance to fix a rent unhampered by custom. Another closely related subject that is discussed here for the first time, it is thought, is the growth of a land market. Such a development was going on quietly during the centuries preceding the sixteenth, preparing the way for the rapid shifting of tenures that was to occur after 1500. This new land market was due to petty peasant transactions tolerated by the lords, and to the chance for small speculation afforded by the cultivation of the waste land; it was accelerated by the vacant tenancies left by the Black Death. A lucid explanation of the status, legal and economic, of the freeholders, adds a mite to the worth of the book.

Though a deep insight into English history, afforded by the discussion of the social revolution brought about by the agrarian changes and their reaction on the state, makes the book one of greatest value to the student of the sixteenth century, yet one lays it down with the impression that as yet not even the approximate extent of the enclosure movement, as to either acres or ejected tenants, is known or is likely to be. Mr. Tawney's exhaustive treatment of the subject, in spite of an occasional statistical discrepancy will stand undoubtedly for years as the most complete and generally the most cogent explanation of the great agricultural changes of the century of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

S. F. BEMIS.

Historiographie de Charles-Quint. Par ALFRED MOREL-FATIO.

[Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, Fascicule 202.] Première Partie. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1913. Pp. 369.)

THE lack of scientific historical works on the reign of the Emperor Charles V. in Spain forms a painful contrast to the wealth of accurate information available on almost every phase of his rule in Germany. Rightly recognizing that a thorough and painstaking analysis and criticism of the writings of the more important contemporary or nearly contemporary Spanish and Italian authorities on the period is a *sine qua non* of any permanent progress towards a satisfactory redressal of the balance, M. Morel-Fatio has given us the first installment of a really notable work on this important and almost completely neglected subject.

Whatever the precise date of the beginning of the employment of an official salaried historian in Castile, it is clear that under the emperor the importance of that position greatly increased, owing largely to the fact that the representatives of the nation in the Cortes began to take a vital interest in the matter and to demand a voice in the appointment of the *cronistas*. Of these official historians in the reign of Charles V., M. Morel-Fatio counts eight, who succeeded each other in the following order: Antonio de Guevara, bishop of Mondoñedo, better known to the

literary than to the historical world, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, the opponent of Las Casas, Pedro Mexía, Florian de Ocampo (M. Morel-Fatio has terminated a protracted dispute by proving that he was still living in 1558), Barnabé Busto, tutor to the emperor's children, Juan Paez de Castro, critic of Zurita, Lorenzo de Padilla, and Alonso de Santa Cruz, cosmographer rather than historian (Peter Martyr is omitted because he devoted himself solely to the history of the Indies). Limitations of the space forbid even the most meagre summary of the author's conclusions concerning these writers: we can only pay a passing tribute to the thoroughness and accuracy with which he has accomplished his task. It will probably be of interest to American readers to learn that by no means all the works of these chroniclers have been printed. Of Mexía's *Historia de Carlos Quinto* only the chapter on the Comuneros has seen the light: Ocampo's *Sucesos Acaecidos desde el Año 1521 hasta 1549* and *Sucesos desde 1550 hasta 1558* remain in manuscript, as do also the historical writings of Barnabé Busto and Alonso de Santa Cruz. Some of them at least thoroughly deserve careful editing and publication. The manuscripts await the enterprising investigator at Madrid or the Escorial.

An entire chapter is devoted to the material concerning Charles and the Spain of his time which may be found in the various works of Jovius, and the influence of that "creator of modern journalism" on the historical writing of his day and generation. The *Vita di Carlo V.* by the Italianate Spaniard Alfonso de Ulloa, who did so much to render closer the literary relations of the two nations, and the lesser works about the emperor by Lodovico Dolce, Bernardo Tasso, and Francesco Sansovino are also fully described. The remainder of the volume is occupied with a careful edition of the Portuguese version of the Memoirs of Charles V., now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which has never been published before, and a new French translation of it, far more accurate than that put forth by Kervyn de Lettenhove in 1862. Both these translations, by the way, are really retranslations, because, despite Ranke to the contrary, the Memoirs were first dictated by the emperor, in 1550, in the French language.

M. Morel-Fatio promises us a second volume devoted to Sandoval's *Vida y Hechos*, and a third comprising the historians of special events in Charles's reign. Only those who have themselves ploughed wearily through the mazes of Spanish historiography, ancient and modern, can appreciate the extent of the services he has rendered. We have found only a few trifling misprints: page 42, in the heading, "Jinés" should be Ginés; page 137, eight lines from the bottom, "*langage*" should be *langages*; page 151, line 9, "III" should be IV. Credit might have been given to Señor de Laiglesia for his bibliography of Charles V. in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Vol. LV., pp. 520 ff.); it is, to say the least, less cumbersome and incomplete than that in his *Estudios*. But it is almost an impertinence to mention blemishes like these in a work which will prove indispensable to students of the sixteenth

century, and which is typical of the very best in modern French scholarship.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum. By LOUISE FARGO BROWN, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Wellesley College. [Prize Essays of the American Historical Association.] (Washington: American Historical Association; London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press. 1912. Pp. xi, 258.)

AMONG the most interesting phenomena of the historiography of the Puritan Revolution is the steady appearance of monograph after monograph upon particular phases of that important and, as it is beginning to appear, many-sided period. So far from having exhausted its possibilities, as many persons supposed not so very many years ago, Professor Gardiner's work has been but the introduction to study at once more detailed and more extended. Like the elucidation of the French Revolution which has gone along not dissimilar lines, the English revolutionary epoch is developing a literature which will presently make the rewriting of the whole history of the period imperative. The contributions of Professor Firth to the military and political side of the great struggle, with his promised contribution to its social and economic phases; the work of Bischoffshausen, Prayer, Bowman, and Jones in its foreign relations; of Inderwick and Notestein on the legal and superstitious side; of Rannie on the major-generals; of Hoenig and Baldock on its tactics and strategy; of Miss Hickson and Prendergast and Father Murphy on Ireland and of Douglas on Scotland; with others too numerous to mention here, has served not merely to illuminate the dark corners and supplement the monumental survey of Professor Gardiner; it has, slowly but surely, tended to alter our general view of the period.

In this long category of investigation the present work of Miss Brown occupies an unusually interesting and useful place. We have long since passed the time of abuse written by the Royalist enemies of Cromwell; we have gone through the Republican condemnation; we are still not quite out of the era of democratic praise; it is but natural that we should, especially at this present time, find historians of those other opponents of the Cromwellian régime who were not Royalist and for whom the term Republican is less than adequate. The Levellers and Diggers have found a chronicler, John Lilburne an apologist, Harrison and John Rogers, among others, their biographers. It is peculiarly appropriate, therefore, that the millennial sects, Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchists, should, as a body, have their day before the bar of history, as they had their share in the events of their time. How considerable that share was, Miss Brown has well indicated in her closing pages. But she has laid so much stress upon their opposition that one is apt to forget that it was their support which enabled Puritanism to reach its

"high water mark" in the nominated Parliament. Nor is it, perhaps, always safe to judge a body by the utterances of its professed leaders, especially when they are of the type of Feake. The "fighting Baptists", in short, like the "fighting Quakers", perhaps never bore such a proportion to the "praying brethren" as the noise of their preachers or the fears of their opponents might lead one to believe. That the body as a whole played no such part in the Restoration as in the earlier period is due perhaps as much to the causes which led most other men to acquiesce in settled government as to any which related to particular religious bias.

For her work Miss Brown, whose study of parties in the Convention Parliament showed her ability in such a field, is well qualified. There are few tasks more difficult than tracing the history of a minority which, like an undiscovered star, must be judged rather by its effect on other bodies than by direct observation of its own activity. "Apparent", "probable", "must have", these are the terms which, of necessity, continually occur. But, had she done no more, and she has done much, she lays us all under obligation for the light she has shed on the "fire in the rear" which so harassed the Cromwellian rule.

W. C. ABBOTT.

The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754. By GEORGE LOUIS BEER.
Part I. *The Establishment of the System, 1660-1688.* In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 381; vii, 382.)

WITHIN recent years the focus of interest in the field of American colonial history has shifted from the colonies as independent products of evolution to the colonies as dependencies and integral parts of a great empire. The new attitude has led to a patient examination of a formidable aggregate of manuscript sources in English repositories where they have long remained undisturbed or lightly touched. As a result many dark spots in the history of the old British empire have been illuminated, and customary, one-sided, and superficial generalizations have been forced to yield to knowledge and conclusions based on sound historical scholarship. Mr. Beer has taken a prominent and profitable part in this movement. In a series of volumes he has undertaken to describe the very fundamental and complex subject of the old British colonial-commercial system. The period of origins of British colonial policy from the days of Raleigh to the close of Cromwell's ascendancy, and the period of disintegration during the critical decade which preceded the Stamp Act, were subject to critical study in volumes presented five and six years ago respectively. The author now turns attention to the Restoration period when the colonial system was formally created.

The words of praise which welcomed the appearance of Mr. Beer's earlier works, thorough, clear, judicial, may well be offered again. His studies are models of historical scholarship and workmanship. With

great patience and thoroughness he has handled a multitude of sources, much in the form of manuscript, drawn from British official records, pamphlets, family papers, and diaries. In the selection of information and its criticism and arrangement, he has shown extreme caution and care. The style is sober and clear, the text is reserved for essential data and the bearing and meaning of evidence, while the broad margins of foot-notes hold a wealth of illustrative material and references to the sources.

The essential merit of the first volume is the convincing analysis and description of the forces, conditions, and ideas which shaped and crystallized into a comprehensive and cohesive colonial system economic theories of empire enunciated and applied only occasionally in point of time and place during the troubled years of the early Stuarts and the Puritan revolution. Social differences, which hampered and colored colonial enterprise in the earlier period, were now yielding to the important issues of commerce and colonization and to substantial unity of thought and action along these lines. The Restoration period witnessed the passage of the acts of trade which laid down in a comprehensive manner the principles of colonial control; the development of a system of colonial administration and administrative policies for the sake of imperial unity; and the rapid expansion of commerce and colonies by conquest and private or semi-public enterprise. All these matters are brought out with keen insight and a fund of information. There is revealed not only the essential features of a self-sufficient commercial empire and the unity of its various parts, but also the underlying theories of colonization as reflected in the writings of statesmen and economists of the day, the political and administrative processes by which the system was created and applied, and an interpretation of the intrinsic character of the colonial system. The chapter on the organs of control, central and local, is purposely confined to administration only as it is concerned with the enforcement of economic regulations, and is therefore incidental and incomplete. The author has given too little attention to the merchants whose influence and activity in the colonial movement were factors of no small importance.

The second volume draws the interest from England as the centre of the system to the colonies as the field of operation. It gives to the plantation colonies, especially the West Indies, and to the fishing station of Newfoundland, the proportion of treatment they deserve as the most valuable of British possessions over sea. They realized the chief end for which colonization was undertaken, that of supplying the commodities which England herself did not produce or which might be used as articles of exchange with Europe. Customarily too much attention has been fixed upon the northern colonies, especially New England, the least prized of all, because as competitors they seriously interfered with British plans. Mr. Beer critically examines the complaints from Barbados and Virginia that the British colonial system was responsible for economic depression, statements uncritically accepted by older writers,

and comes to the conclusion that Barbadian discontent and Bacon's rebellion were due to factors inherent in the colonial situation and not in British policy. It is the author's firm conviction that the policy of centralization which culminated in the vacation of Massachusetts's charter and the creation of the Dominion of New England was forced upon the home government by the stern logic of events and proceeded not from motives of oppression and tyranny. The author fails to note the importance of King Philip's War in the long and bitter struggle between Massachusetts and the Stuarts. The strength of Puritan New England before the Indian conflict and England's fight with the Dutch called for caution on the part of the home government in dealing with the defiant and refractory colony before 1677. The exhaustion of New England after the domestic war and the close of the Dutch war may account in large part for the energy shown by the crown and the final submission of Massachusetts.

In conclusion, it may be said that the work is frankly one-sided and based upon records which reflect this attitude. The first volume, with information taken largely from British official records, is a signal and authoritative contribution to the history of the rise and development of British policy. But in the second volume we do not feel that the final word has been said on the interaction and interrelation of British policy and colonial economy. The author confesses with candor that various fundamental phases of colonial development have been ignored and subordinated, but the confession raises a serious doubt whether the economic relations of the old empire will be fully elucidated until the basis and development of colonial economy have been studied in the same scholarly and exhaustive manner in which Mr. Beer has dealt with British policy. A knowledge of colonial economy will not be found merely in British sources, but must be searched for in sources of varied description scattered through many different colonies. The very excellence of Mr. Beer's work, the extent of the period covered, the mass of material, sufficiently imposing in bulk to frighten one not endowed with the stout heart of the historical pioneer, are proof that much remains to be done before the subject is fully exploited.

W. T. ROOT.

Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series. Volume VI. *The Unbound Papers.* Edited through the direction of the Lord President of the Council by JAMES MUNRO, M.A., Lecturer in Colonial and Indian History in the University of Edinburgh, under the general supervision of Sir ALMERIC W. FITZROY, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., Clerk of the Privy Council. (London: Wyman and Sons. 1912. Pp. xliv, 686.)

THE last volume of the *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, contains a selection of all documents relating to colonial history from the large

mass of unbound and uncalendared papers in the Privy Council Office that had accumulated in the eighteenth century, chiefly during the period of the Board of Trade. The series covers the years from 1700 to 1783, with scattering papers of earlier and later dates, and represents, as regards its origin, the papers which came into the hands of the council as the result of its official relations with the Board of Trade. The papers stand, therefore, in the light of collateral documents, supplemental to the Register and illustrative of the regular business of the council as far as the colonies were concerned. Taken in conjunction with the Register and the Board of Trade Journal, they make clear the routine of procedure between the council, the board, and the secretary of state, and furnish us with the evidence upon which the reports of the council as committee were based and the orders in council issued. As the greater number of papers here calendared are reports and representations of the Board of Trade, made up originally in the Plantation Office from written papers and oral statements and depositions, the student will soon be in a position to follow with considerable exactness the history of every important matter that came before the Privy Council on appeal or petition from the colonies. When the results of such an investigation are presented chronologically and comparatively, we shall be in a position to determine with some certainty the part taken by the council in colonial affairs, the efficiency or inefficiency of its methods, and the extent to which the board, though a subordinate body, was able to give, in fact if not in law, the final decision in colonial cases. When such conclusions are made definite, writers on colonial history will be able to generalize safely, as they cannot do at present, regarding the character of British control as far as the methods and decisions of the highest executive authority are concerned. Such conclusions will be an important and necessary contribution to that larger study of British departmental efficiency in the eighteenth century of which we stand so greatly in need.

The contents of this volume are valuable from another point of view. They furnish a list and in part a calendar of a large number of reports and representations of the Board of Trade. Though such reports were entered in the Register as parts of the orders in council and so have been printed more or less completely in previous volumes of this series, the present versions are more full and satisfactory. Some of the reports are here given at great length and cover a number of extremely interesting colonial questions. In a few cases the amount of new information is very considerable, although in all probability the same information can be obtained from the Colonial Office papers. But the accompanying expressions of opinion cannot be obtained so readily unless the report happen to be entered, as is of course frequently the case, in the entry books of the Board of Trade. A number of the more important of these reports have been printed in full elsewhere, such as the three drawn up in 1768, 1772, and 1773 regarding the grant of the Vandalia territory, which have appeared in the *Documents relative to the Colonial History*

of *New York* and in *Franklin's Works*. But others not so well known and relating to less conspicuous matters have not been hitherto presented anywhere in print and stand therefore as definite additions to our collection of printed material for American colonial history. In this volume is entered also a very interesting "Course of Office between the Secretary of State's Office, the Council, and the Board of Trade, as proposed by Mr. Sharpe", embodying a scheme for expediting business that is by implication condemnatory of practices previously in use.

In an appendix are certain "Addenda" and various precedents governing the phraseology to be employed in orders in council, complaints against governors, commissions for the trial of pirates, and other official documents. At the end of the volume are reproductions of seven maps or plans found among the unbound papers, of which the most important are those covering Indian trade in New York, Lake Champlain, and the New York-New Hampshire land grants. Mr. Munro's preface is an excellent summary of the leading features of the volume and leaves nothing to be desired, except that occasionally opinions might differ as to the relative importance of the subjects discussed. From the standpoint of the American student the documents relative to the Winthrop *v.* Lechmere case deserve more than the few lines of comment allotted to them. There are occasional misspellings of names, such as "Courand" for Couraud, "Franklin" for Francklin, "Tomlinson" for Thomlinson, "Quarry" for Quarry, and some manifest misprints, such as "Bellamont" and "Montague". Mr. Munro has adopted the forms "Montgomery", "Abercromby", "Loudon", "Micaiah" (Perry), which are contrary to the best usage, and in the index has entered the names "Dr. Spry" and "Gov. Spry" separately, whereas they belong to the same person. He has, furthermore, indexed the "J. Walcot" mentioned on page 227 as if he were Roger Wolcott, governor of Connecticut, but I doubt if the identification is correct.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution. By ERNEST F. HENDERSON, Ph.D., L.H.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. xxxii, 456.)

THE main purpose of this work is to furnish the student or reader a valuable source of information hitherto accessible only to those who could visit the Paris collections of prints. Dr. Henderson's 171 plates were obtained chiefly by photographing the originals, most of which belong to the Collection Hennin of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The task was well worth the effort and the result is a distinct addition to the literature of the subject. Dr. Henderson has accompanied the plates by a narrative, in chronological form, to make clear the place each print or cartoon has in the revolutionary movement.

The first impression from an examination of the plates is surprise at the lack of humor in the cartoons. What there may be is mostly of

the grim kind. One of the few which show lightness of touch represents Louis XVI. in the act of signing the constitution. He is seated in a large cage the top of which is surmounted by a royal crown. Before him is a table and his hand holds a quill. The Emperor Leopold approaches with an air of astonishment and asks, "Que fais tu là Beau frère?" and Louis replies "Je sanctionne". Many of the pictures carry symbolism to an extreme, producing a composition that is more complex and pedantic than suggestive.

Dr. Henderson remarks that almost all the cartoons are anonymous. This seriously reduces the value of the collection from the point of view of the student. That *some one* produced a cartoon or symbolical representation of a certain event does not throw a clear light upon the direction or the strength of currents of public opinion. It is true that engravers and dealers during the Revolution sought to please their public, having an eye to their own profits. They were all doubtless much like Anatole France's Citoyen Jean Blaise who objected to Évariste Gamelin's symbolical reform of playing cards on the ground that it would not be to the taste of his patrons, not even of the *sans-culottes*.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Henderson did not include some treatment of the relations of this political art to the artistic movement of the time. Among the plates one notes reminders of the delicate work of Fragonard, possibly also of Watteau, and other pictures in absurd pseudo-classical style. An account of tendencies of such art in the latter part of the eighteenth century would have been in point. It would not have been amiss also to have said something of the use of the cartoon in other countries at the same period.

The author's decision to accompany the plates with a narrative, instead of separate historical statements, is not free from question. The narrative is more interesting to the general reader, but it is less useful to the serious student. The plan is beset with difficulties. The pictures must be described and commented on, and yet the main threads of the Revolutionary narrative must be followed. This is almost a case of attempting to serve two masters.

The narrative contains statements which may fairly be questioned. The author expresses surprise that the constitution of 1793 went so far as to declare that insurrection was "a sacred duty under certain circumstances", although the American Declaration of Independence had said the same thing. The comments on the French Declaration of Rights on page 75 are beside the mark. The ideal principles set forth in the declaration were sound, even if French mobs or the Terrorists of 1793 failed to live up to them. It is also unfortunate to be obliged to say anything about the Maximum legislation of 1793 in six sentences, especially the six inserted in the paragraph on page 375. Some minor errors of fact have also escaped the author's attention; for example the statement that Brissot had taken part in the American Revolution, that Lafayette was removed from the command of the National Guard after

August 10, and that the Duke of Orleans became Philippe Égalité in the summer of 1793.

Wellington's Army, 1809-1814. By C. W. C. OMAN, M.A., LL.D., Chichele Professor of Modern History, University of Oxford. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company; London: Edward Arnold. 1912. Pp. viii, 395.)

To evolve out of an incident as commonplace as the taking of a woman's hair a poem like Pope's "Rape of the Lock" is an achievement possible to a genius only and, similarly, none but a master-writer like Dr. Oman could have clothed in such charming guise the many bald facts and dry statistics contained in his latest work on Wellington's army. The general reader as well as the military student will find this book of unusual interest. Not even Napier gives a better picture of the motley English force that for six years held head against, and eventually expelled from the Peninsula, the Napoleonic legions so long irresistible in Europe.

Dr. Oman's first two chapters deal with the literature of the Peninsular War, classifying the books and assigning to each the value it deserves as historical reference. He very aptly lays down the rule that narratives written after the events described must be scrutinized with care before their evidence be accepted as trustworthy and that one "must begin by trying to obtain a judgment on the 'personal equation'—was the author a hard-headed observer, or a lover of romantic anecdotes?" (p. 26).

Chapter III. treats of the Duke of Wellington—the man and the strategist. Capable the "Iron Duke" unquestionably was, but utterly devoid of sympathy for others, unloving and unloved, "a hard master, slow to praise and swift to blame and to punish" (p. 42). "Anything that seemed to Wellington to partake of the nature of thinking for oneself was an unpardonable sin in a subordinate." Habitually ignoring to mention in his official despatches the names of any save the senior officers present—unless some subordinate had committed a mistake, in which case the error was invariably chronicled—he was constantly currying favor with the aristocracy; in a word the duke was a thorough snob (p. 48). On the other hand, his genius was truly prophetic—as illustrated by his memoranda of September 5 and October 26, 1809—his powers of calculation careful and long-sighted, his insight into the enemy's probable move extraordinary, and frequently, as at Salamanca, his mastery of the offensive both unexpected and remarkable (pp. 53-60).

Chapter IV. deals with Wellington's infantry tactics, especially the line versus the column, and contains material of extraordinary interest to the military student. The reasons for the efficiency of the French column or mixed formation are admirably set forth (pp. 61-73) as well as their influence on British tactics (pp. 74-75) following on the lessons of the American Revolution (pp. 75-77). The problem of how

best to meet the French formations had long been interesting to Wellington who, before he left Calcutta in 1805, announced that "he was convinced that the column would, and could, be beaten by the line" (p. 78), and Professor Oman goes on to show the system by which he established the soundness of his contention in many a hard-fought fight (pp. 79-93).

Then follows a chapter devoted to the tactics of the British cavalry and artillery as well as the French. In these two arms Wellington's inferiority was very marked. That he did not entertain a high regard for his own horsemen is evidenced by his letter to Lord John Russell twelve years after the war was ended:

I considered our cavalry so inferior to the French from want of order, that although I considered one of our squadrons a match for two French, yet I did not care to see four British opposed to four French, and still more so as the numbers increased, and order (of course) became more necessary. They could gallop, but could not preserve their order (p. 104).

With the hand of a master Dr. Oman depicts in chapter vi. three of Wellington's lieutenants, in word-portraits instinct with life and personality, which must be read to be fully appreciated. The first is Sir Rowland Hill, the Duke's trusted and most responsible lieutenant, a man of "beautiful combination of intelligence and executive power", unsurpassed in "fierce driving energy" by any officer in the British or French armies, "capable of the highest feats in war, who might have gone far, if he had been given the chance of a completely independent command" (pp. 115-118). Next is William Carr Beresford, well "pushed" by family influence, unpopular but loyal and obedient to his chief, who organized an almost hopelessly demoralized force of Portuguese into a very fair fighting body (pp. 119-122). Last is Thomas Graham of Balgowan, later created Lord Lynedoch, "in one way the most typical figure of the epoch", picturesque, quick of eye, sudden of resolution, a splendid leader in times of crisis, of whom no unkind word was ever uttered by one of his subordinates, a man *sans peur et sans reproche* (pp. 122-128).

Of other lieutenants chapter vii. treats, beginning with Sir Thomas Picton, a typical eighteenth-century soldier, a Welshman with the manners of the barrack-room which wholly belied his gentle birth. "A rough, foul-mouthed devil as ever lived" was Wellington's estimate, and yet a fine soldier, cool of resolution, unlimited in self-confidence, and with the courage of ten bulldogs, whose Spartan courage the last three days of his life so splendidly attested.

Of a different stamp was Robert Craufurd, one of the few scientific soldiers in the army, "undoubtedly the most brilliant lieutenant that Wellington ever owned", as Busaco fully demonstrated, but one who was too prone to think for himself and whose reputation has suffered by reason of the animosity of the Napiers (pp. 139-150). Dr. Oman

very properly refutes Napier's slip of memory in ascribing to his Light Division a march of sixty-two miles to Talavera in twenty-six hours—a physical impossibility. The actual distance covered was forty-three miles (p. 141) which was three miles less than Friant's division made in the twenty-four hours following its departure from Leopoldsdorf to join Napoleon for the battle of Austerlitz where it performed such prodigies.

Cole, Leith, Spencer, Slade, and Erskine occupy less than three pages—probably all they deserve—and Professor Oman rightly emphasizes the fact that "Wellington never trained a general who proved himself a first-rate exponent of the art of war" (p. 151), doubtless for the extremely good reason that the duke was not one himself and furthermore could brook no possible rival in his own army.

The six succeeding chapters are devoted to the organization of the British army in Spain and to its auxiliaries, the Germans and Portuguese, into the details of which it would be superfluous to enter here. Of the staff corps, one in particular deserves every encomium. "The much-cursed and criticized Commissariat succeeded in doing its duty, and the length of time for which the British army could keep concentrated was the envy of the French, who, living on the country, were forced to disperse whenever they had exhausted the resources of the particular region in which they were massed." If, as Yorck von Wartenburg has asserted, "It is indeed a characteristic, uniformly noticeable in the strategy of all the greatest generals, that they knew how to utilize their cavalry to the best advantage", Wellington cannot be included in this category since he "never used his cavalry in mass for any great separate manoeuvre" (p. 176).

Although "professional training for officers had perforce been non-existent in the early years of the French war", no less an authority than the French General Foy "considered the general mass of the British officers excellent" (pp. 203-204), his opinion contrasting markedly with that of the Iron Duke who, no less petty and unjust on one hand than he was great on the other, often denounced everyone in his army—"the officers as ignorant of their duty, the rank and file as little better than a rabble" (p. 205). It must be confessed that he did have a choice collection of *mauvais sujets* under him—jailbirds, pickpockets, footpads, *et id omne genus*—attracted by the enormous bounties offered for volunteers. Small wonder that Professor Oman is obliged to devote an entire chapter (xiv.) to the discipline and court-martials of gentry of this sort, inasmuch as "for the rank and file flogging was the universal panacea"—the number of strokes ranging from a minimum of twenty-five to a maximum of 1200, sufficient to kill most men but, luckily, only awarded nine or ten times during the entire six years of the war (p. 237). Grewsome as are the details of this chapter, they are relieved by several sprightly stories, one of which is quite worthy of repetition, illustrating the business acumen and ready wit of a corporal and private

belonging to the 88th regiment who formed part of a detachment sent to St. João da Pesqueira for wine for the soldiers. They started with a pair of fine white bullocks and brought back two scrawny blacks. At their court-martial they were confronted with this fact and asked what they had to say. Whereupon

Private Charles Reilly, noways abashed at this, which every one thought a poser, and ready with any excuse to save himself from punishment, immediately exclaimed, "Och! plaise your honour, and wasn't the white beasts lazy, and didn't we bate them until they were black?" The court was not quite satisfied of the truth of this wonderful metamorphosis, and they were condemned to be punished (*see* General Order, Freneda, January 22, 1812)—the corporal to be broke and get 700 lashes, Reilly to get 500. But in consideration of the great gallantry displayed by the 88th at the storm of Ciudad Rodrigo a few days before, the culprits were in the end pardoned (p. 247).

Chapter xv. cites the anonymous introduction to the second edition of *Selected General Orders* published by Gurwood in 1837, and one may search in vain for a better or more comprehensive picture of a British army on the march in Napoleonic times. It is followed by another on Impedimenta of which Wellington's forces certainly had a superabundance. General Foy pithily remarked that,

To look at the mass of impedimenta and camp-followers trailing behind the British, you would think that you were beholding the army of Darius. Only when you have met them in the field do you realize that you have to do with the soldiers of Alexander (p. 268).

Some twelve pages are devoted to notes of sieges, followed by a chapter on uniforms and weapons, and it is interesting to learn that the Tommy Atkins of that day carried a kit weighing some sixty pounds (p. 295) and a Tower musket—familiarily known as "Brown Bess"—the effective range of which was about three hundred yards only, while real accuracy was questionable over one hundred yards (p. 301). Of swords the variety was well-nigh infinite, the rifleman, devoid of bayonet, having as his second weapon "a very short and curved sword, more useful for wood-chopping than anything else" (p. 303).

The final chapter treats of things spiritual and the "fighting parsons" of various creeds, whose rôle was oftentimes difficult in that motley aggregation of unruly spirits which fought under the Iron Duke.

To the military student and to the general reader interested in the armies of those stirring Napoleonic times, or in vivid pictures of gallant leaders and of a rank and file which, notwithstanding many defects, have left an imperishable name in the annals of war, the reviewer, judging from the pleasure and profit that he has derived from Dr. Oman's unique work, can give no better advice than the scriptural exhortation, "Go and do thou likewise".

FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER.

The Girlhood of Queen Victoria: a Selection from Her Majesty's Diaries between the Years 1832 and 1840. Published by authority of His Majesty the King, edited by Viscount ESHER, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. In two volumes. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company; London: John Murray. 1912. Pp. xiv, 398; xii, 382.)

THE diary of Queen Victoria, commenced in 1832, became, before completion, a very extensive personal history. In all, the manuscript runs to one hundred bound volumes. What portion after this may be made available, and how soon publication would be advisable, rests with the present sovereign to determine. The preparation of the first installment, which appears under the editor's title of *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria*, was sanctioned by the late King Edward. It contains selections from the queen's journal written between 1832 and 1840—from the Princess Victoria's thirteenth year to the time of her marriage.

Upon what principle the portions preferred for publication were chosen, the editor has not explained. Without meaning to be ungracious, for Viscount Esher's solicitation in procuring the manuscript puts us under obligation, it must be said, nevertheless, that some reference to the omitted portions ought to have been made. The method of editing was conditioned presumably by the class of readers for whom these two volumes seem to have been intended. Students of English history were not in the editor's mind; but rather the large section of the English reading public that finds an especial interest in royal families and in the personalities of court life. This would account for much that otherwise calls for criticism; as, for example, the number of superfluous biographical foot-notes, often of a commonplace character. Perhaps it might explain also the ill-advised choice of title, misleading as to the form of the text. When the simple and less personal expression—*Journal of Queen Victoria, 1832-1840*—would have been sufficient, and obviously more intelligible, it is not easy to see why *Girlhood of Queen Victoria* should have been put forward so infelicitously. The editor shows a similar lack of discrimination when he allows himself to speak of Charles Greville (I. 15) as a "persistent eavesdropper"—an unpardonable phrase.

It is more agreeable to turn from this mistaken zeal of editorial activity to the substance of the journal itself; difficult though it is to appraise it adequately. With so much material for the early-Victorian period bearing directly or indirectly upon the queen, there cannot but be a strong interest attaching to the queen's own version of incidents, some of them of constitutional importance, with which she was associated. The diary is mostly narrative, written in a plain, straightforward style. The first half confirms the prevailing impression that the queen received from her tutors an education of very middle-class limitations. The second half reveals the decision of character with which she adapted

herself to her position subsequent to 1837. But, after all, the historical value of this early part of the journal lies not in the light thrown upon the queen, but upon Lord Melbourne, and his position as constitutional adviser. The memoirs and biographies of the period all bear witness to the nature of Lord Melbourne's task; but nothing more complete could be desired than the queen's own record of the tact and wisdom Melbourne displayed day by day in his advisory capacity. References to Peel, Wellington, Brougham, the King of the Belgians, to Baron Stockmar and to the prince consort are not without value as contemporary material. To some, perhaps, it will be new to know that the letter concerned in the "Bedchamber Question" of 1839, in which the queen declared it "repugnant to her feelings" to part with certain Whig ladies of her court, was not composed by the queen herself, as is implied rather loosely in May and elsewhere, but was copied from an original draft furnished by Melbourne, which the members of his cabinet had approved. A few minor points such as this comprise all the material distinctively new that these volumes have to offer. Their value consists in the additional evidence which they afford, from an unusual source, of much that has already appeared in other forms.

It is to be hoped that a further installment may soon be forthcoming.

C. E. FRYER.

La Giovinanza del Conte di Cavour: Saggi storici secondo Lettere e Documenti inediti. Per FRANCESCO RUFFINI, Professore ordinario nella Regia Università da Torino. In two volumes. (Turin: Fratelli Bocca. 1912. Pp. xlviii, 376; 422.)

OF the many publications upon Cavour which have appeared since 1910, the centenary of the great Italian statesman's birth, this is by far the most important as a contribution of new biographical material. Professor Ruffini is the author of valuable works upon ecclesiastical law, but he now enters the field of the Risorgimento for the first time, having been drawn into it by investigations of Cavour's famous formula, "A free church in a free state". By chance some years ago Ruffini happened upon an unpublished group of letters addressed by Cavour to his cousin Baroness Adèle Maurice and her husband, 1828-1845. This formed the nucleus of the new documents given in the present work; to them were added important letters from Cavour's papers now preserved at Santena, some of which had been previously given by Domenico Berti in his *Il Conte di Cavour avanti il 1848*—and other important documents.

In the editing of documents Ruffini is much more conscientious than Berti. Many of the Santena letters were given in fragments loosely translated into Italian by Berti; in the present work they have been reproduced in the original French, with close accuracy and in full. As a student of the period of the Maurice letters Ruffini shows himself better equipped than any biographer of Cavour's earlier life. He has made

a painstaking study of the political developments and intellectual influences of the time, particularly in France and Switzerland whence Cavour drew freely for his intellectual and moral nourishment. His biographical researches regarding the persons who figured in Cavour's environment or are mentioned in his letters, are minute and erudite, bringing together much hitherto neglected material, and his notes, which are well indexed, form a complete biographical and topographical commentary. As an expositor of the ideas and political and social doctrine of Cavour's youth and early manhood Ruffini has made a noteworthy advance over the efforts of his predecessors. His attitude toward Cavour is that of the hero-worshipper—but of the hero-worshipper thoroughly trained in the methods of severe historical criticism. He would conceal nothing, pass over nothing. Cavour is the first Italian in centuries who has weighed upon the destinies of the world. For the historian "nothing which relates to him can be considered too small, or insignificant, or superfluous, for genius has the virtue of changing into historical gold whomsoever and whatsoever it may touch" (I. xlvi). "An unpublished letter of Cavour appears to us to be sacred and *intangibile*" (I. xlv). To the dramatist-biographer these statements might seem to promise an indiscriminate mass of—for the most part futile—biographical detail; but the reader of these volumes will be forced to admit the justice of Ruffini's view in so far as it relates to the material which he has in hand. Cavour's mind matured at a remarkably early age. His interest in the world of politics was profound at eighteen. At that age he formulated his disbelief in the propaganda of universal peace on the ground that in the actual state of civilization it would only serve the cause of absolutism. And from this position he never moved throughout his life. At that time he wrote a powerful letter against hasty suppression of capital punishment, and opposing international arbitration, with the observation that as despotic and reactionary governments were in the majority, arbitration would be hurtful to the cause of liberty. "Civilize yourselves, educate yourselves, and then you will be delivered from the scourge of war" (I. 64). At the same time he declared his belief in the nobleness of the future work of civilizing Africa and of its utility to nations already civilized—a work in which Italy has entered with enthusiasm eighty-two years afterward. This remarkable letter is one of many preserved at Santena which were carelessly summarized, each in a few lines, by Berti, and which Ruffini now gives as practically unpublished.

One of Ruffini's most important new documents is the fragment of a letter written by Cavour in 1832, which was intercepted by the Austrian police, and for which historians have been searching for more than thirty years (I. 143-144). In it he forecasts French intervention in favor of small states whose independence might be violated by Prussia or Austria—the keynote of his international policy for the liberation of Italy twenty-six years later. In an unpublished letter of 1824 we find Cavour already bitterly censuring Massimo d'Azeglio (I. 211-212), and in an-

other of 1835 the importance of de Tocqueville's influence upon Cavour is established beyond doubt (I. 275). Cavour's letters throughout his early years reveal most of the main lines of the political and social philosophy which guided him later in public life. Of no other statesman of equal weight in the world's history is this true to a similar extent. In the face of these letters the charge can never be maintained against Cavour that during public life he was an opportunist in his principles.

A signal merit of Ruffini's work is the moderation shown throughout toward all parties and sects. Unlike many writers upon the Risorgimento, he never confuses the mission of the historian with that of the reformer or of the politician; he refrains from making use of Cavour's doctrines as cudgels with which to batter his own pet antipathies. The work is characterized throughout by fine accuracy of detail. Some errors there are, as in the use of the word "ambassador" for "minister" in different parts of the narrative in referring to diplomatic representatives; but it would be unfair to dwell upon trifling points in view of Ruffini's general scrupulous accuracy. It is a pleasure to note the several indications which these volumes contain of the writer's intention to continue researches in his new field until he has exhausted all available unpublished sources in efforts to make a definitive life of Cavour possible. The confidence of Cavour's heirs, which Ruffini enjoys, has procured for him many of the valuable documents used in his present work and promises fruitful results for his future labors; his work has already received recognition in his appointment upon the government committee entrusted with the publication of the forthcoming national edition of the complete works of Cavour, which is destined to bring out rich stores of unpublished material.

H. NELSON GAY.

La Principessa Clotilde di Savoia: Biografia e Lettere. Per P. L. FANFANI, O.P. (Grottaferrata: Tipografia Italo-orientale "S. Nilo". 1913. Pp. 169.)

PRINCESS CLOTILDE, daughter of Victor Emmanuel II., wife of Prince Napoleon (Jerome), and mother of Prince Victor Napoleon, is a personage who merits fuller notice in the history of modern Europe than has been generally accorded to her. Not only is her biography of interest for the light which it casts upon the character of two great dynasties, but it is to be remembered that it was upon her personal choice that the destinies of Italy and of Europe are believed to have at one moment depended. When Cavour and Napoleon III. conspired at Plombières in 1858 to provoke war with Austria and recast the map of Central Europe, the French emperor was so earnest in urging the marriage of Clotilde with Prince Napoleon (Jerome) as to persuade Cavour that while the Franco-Piedmontese alliance might be possible, yet it would have little practical value, if this marriage were not contracted. Victor Emmanuel left the matter to be decided by Clotilde of her free will—or more cor-

rectly, "to be settled by her with Cavour"—and after long consultation with her confessor and nine days of prayer to the Virgin, she gave on December 8, 1858, a favorable answer. It is customary to speak of her as having been "sacrificed" in her marriage, but it may be asked whether Prince Napoleon was not sacrificed also. She had slight personal charm, nor were her mental qualities and religious views of the sort that could appeal to such a high liver and free thinker as the prince.

It was as a mother rather than as a wife that Clotilde's influence, exerted in the shadow of two thrones, was most felt. Her strong character well illustrates the leading family traits of the House of Savoy—courage, devotion to duty, prudence. She was religious to the verge of bigotry; her time was spent as far as possible in the company of priests, her tastes were those of the cloister rather than of the court, and in 1871 she became a sister in the Third Order of St. Dominic. Had she been born two generations earlier her life would doubtless have been happier. After reading the volume of Father Fanfani, which is the only biography of Clotilde which has yet been published, one understands better what priestly influence meant in the councils and court life even of her later ancestors, Victor Emmanuel I., Charles Felix, and Charles Albert, and one better appreciates the significance of the changes since wrought in Italy. But Clotilde's religious convictions gave her firmness and confidence in making the supreme decisions of her life. The first was that of her marriage. The second was made in August, 1870, when Victor Emmanuel had sent to urge her to leave Paris for Italy. The full text of her noble reply is reprinted by Fanfani from the *Corriere della Sera* of 1911, where it was first published; it reflects the courage and pride of her race: "My duty is to remain here so long as I can, if necessary to remain and die here; one cannot fly before danger. . . . The good of my husband, of my children, of my country demands that I remain here. The honor of my name, your honor, dear Papa, the honor of my native country. . . . I am not a Princess of the House of Savoy for nothing. . . . To leave when our country is in danger would be dishonor and eternal shame" (pp. 26-27). The student who compares these sentiments with those of the Bourbon and Austrian rulers who deserted their Italian dominions at the first suggestion of danger in the days of the Risorgimento will understand better why it is that the House of Savoy rules in Italy to-day.

Fanfani's volume is animated by religious fervor rather than by single love of historical truth, and it is to be hoped that a biography may soon be forthcoming that will exhibit the life of Clotilde in a fuller light.

H. N. G.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Manuel d'Archéologie Américaine (Amérique Préhistorique: Civilisations Disparues). Par H. BEUCHAT. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1912. Pp. xli, 773.)

THE author, Professor H. Beuchat, is a well-known French archaeologist, who, of late, has devoted considerable time to a study of the aborigines of the New World. His book evinces a great deal of research, but it is unfortunate that he has not consulted recent American publications on the subject. A study of his bibliography indicates that he has not included the important writings of Professor W. C. Mills on the Ohio prehistoric sites, the later reports of C. B. Moore, and some other works. It might have been better for Professor Beuchat to have paid less attention to some of the earlier publications cited in his pages. There are a number of papers relating to cave exploration which he should have consulted. He does not appear to know that an extensive classification of American stone artifacts has been established.

But these criticisms are of minor importance compared with the general commendation which should be given his work. We have had no manual of American archaeology since the days of Dr. Thomas's *Introduction to the Study of American Archaeology*. Although there are several American archaeologists whose competency to write such a volume is unquestioned, none has done so, and the credit of producing an important publication treating of the American Indians in the broadest sense belongs to this distinguished Frenchman.

Professor Beuchat, as have other writers, takes the position that the Norsemen first discovered extreme northeast America, but that the points visited cannot be accurately determined. His references to various publications are quite complete. He thinks that the washing ashore, on the west coast of Europe, of a few native American objects, may have suggested the existence of a new continent (p. 40).

The historical section—the various voyages and discoveries—furnishes us with little that is new, yet it presents the reader with essential facts in a brief and pleasing manner.

The chapters devoted to glacial and palaeolithic man present the opposing views concerning the existence of very primitive culture in North America. The author remarks, however, that French archaeologists consider most of the Trenton implements to be of the quaternary period.

M. Beuchat discusses through several chapters the mounds and earthworks of the Mississippi Valley, and the objects found therein. However, he follows Thomas too closely, and Thomas, as modern exploration has proved, thought pretty much everything in the way of mound or enclosures to be of modern origin. The author falls in some respects into the errors committed by Thomas. The several and separate cultures of mound-building peoples might be emphasized more clearly. Yet there is much of value in the observations made, and European students will profit by reading Beuchat's pages.

Of the cliff and pueblo houses and the cultures evinced in the Southwest, the author's remarks are well worth our consideration. His authorities are Nordenskiöld, Howes, Jackson, Fewkes, and others—

all competent observers. American, as well as European students, will welcome the somewhat lengthy descriptions of Central and South American cultures. Aside from reports upon the well-known Mayan and Aztec ruined cities, we have had far too little on this interesting subject.

The author describes the various discoveries of supposedly early human cultures. The most ancient remains up to the present time, in the opinion of M. Beuchat, were those found by Lund in the caverns of Minas Geraes. He advocates more thorough investigations as to the antiquity of man in America—to which we will all agree.

By far the longest and most complete descriptions are those given to Central and South America and the Bahamas. Pages 229 to 728 are devoted to these cultures, and the illustrations are numerous, although small. Of the 262 figures, the greater number relate to the Central and South American arts and architecture. The treatment is as complete as the student might wish.

In his conclusions, M. Beuchat states that the opportunity for research in South America is greater than in North America with reference to the possible discovery of fossil man.

Several types may be recognized in America, but as yet anthropological studies of skin, hair, skeletal remains, or languages have not determined the origin of the American race. As to the theory of Asiatic origin Beuchat states that those who maintain this hypothesis do not take into account the physical difficulties—the great distances—the well-nigh impossibility that large bodies of men should journey from Asia *via* Behring to America. He considers the similarities between Mongolians and Indians as superficial. He cannot form a theory satisfactory to himself explaining the origin of our aborigines. The cultures he considers as rather low, except in Mexico and Central America. He observes that these cultures are different from those found elsewhere in the world. Three things constituting civilization he finds absent—domestic animals, the use of the wheel, and iron. He places considerable stress upon this fact. That the Mexicans did not discover the properties of ores, and thus produce iron and other metals, seems inexplicable. Restrained in their developments, the Americans did not develop up to their capabilities. The influence of America was not felt in Europe until European colonies had been established.

As a text-book the work is to be commended.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

The Colonial Period. By CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS, Ph.D., L.H.D., Farnam Professor of American History, Yale University. [The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company; London: Williams and Norgate. 1912. Pp. vii, 256.)

THIS little book, coming from the pen of one of the principal leaders

of the new school of historical writers on the colonies, emphasizes, as was to be expected, the imperial point of view and studies the American colonies with reference to the system of which they formed a part. The volume is typical of the reaction that has taken place among American scholars in the past fifteen years under the leadership of Professors Andrews, Osgood, and others against the older and provincial point of view. These older writers, neglecting the mother-country, fixed their attention almost exclusively upon the life and institutions of the colonies as isolated jurisdictions, with the resulting presentation of a picture crowded with minute details, without unity and with an unnatural perspective. The new point of view which regards the colonies as an integral part of the British Empire, is fortunately receiving increasing recognition. This is succinctly expressed by Professor Andrews in his preface, in the following words: "If we are to understand the colonies, not only at the time of their revolt, but also throughout their history from the beginning, we must study the policy and administration at home and follow continuously the efforts which were made, on the side of Great Britain to hold the colonies in a state of dependence and on the side of the colonies to obtain a more or less complete control of their own affairs." He thus recognizes the necessity of studying the British colonial system as a unit by presenting the chief factors both in the mother-country and in the colonies, as also the relation between them. This he does by writing from "the vantage ground of their origin" and viewing the colonies from some point outside of themselves. "To the scholar", he remarks, "there is only one point of observation, that of the mother country from which they came and to whom they were legally subject."

In carrying out this plan, the author has arranged his material in ten chapters as follows: two chapters are devoted to the two chief periods of settlement (1607-1640, 1655-1682); two to the development of the political, social, and economic life of the colonies; two to the Navigation Acts and the imperial administration chiefly in the eighteenth century; two to the colonies' struggle for self-control and evasion of the acts of Parliament, and two to the early attempts at colonial union, culminating in the Stamp Act Congress's resistance to the new parliamentary measures. The simple enumeration of the subject-matter of the chapters is sufficient to indicate the comprehensive and well-balanced character of the work. A closer acquaintance with its pages proves that they could have been written only by a master in the field. Probably there is no scholar of the period so well qualified as Professor Andrews to prepare such a résumé of the colonial period. His familiarity with the wealth of original material, resulting from the unusual opportunities afforded for research in the British Archives, in connection with the preparation of the *Guide* to the material relating to the colonies, for the Carnegie Institution, and his extended studies in the field of colonial administration have given him undoubted command of this phase of the subject.

Owing to the brevity of the work and the comprehensive plan of the writer, it has been necessary to omit the details and the romance of colonization, but sufficient attention has been given to the subject to demonstrate "how the settlements represent the outworking of important commercial, religious and political influences in England". The fundamental differences in the political organization and economic life of the various colonies, as also the contrast between the conditions and institutions of the colonies and the mother-land are briefly but for the purpose in view adequately treated. It is also worthy of note that all the British colonies in North America are included in this survey, not simply the original thirteen. Professor Andrews truly states, "No distinction existed between them in colonial times and none should be made now by the writer on colonial history." As already has been intimated, the distinctive contribution made by this little volume is through the fresh, clear, and simple presentation of the origin and development of the system of imperial administration. There is a wealth of information and illustration relative to the various phases of colonial administration comprised in the seventy-five pages of chapters VI.-VIII., much of which it would be difficult to find available elsewhere in print. But what is more remarkable than the encyclopaedic knowledge which commands our admiration and recognition is not only the author's grasp upon the material, but also his skill in presenting so scholarly, illuminating, and interesting a review of the colonial period within the compass of two hundred and fifty pages. The work, indeed, is a brilliant and masterly piece of condensation.

Those who have found this little volume of so much value, will be gratified to learn that it is the forerunner of a larger and more special study of the British administrative system, upon which Professor Andrews is now engaged.

HERMAN V. AMES.

The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence and illustrative Matter, 1760-1770. Drawn from the "Papers of Sir Francis Bernard" (sometime Governor of Massachusetts-Bay). Edited by EDWARD CHANNING, Ph.D., and ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, Ph.D., Professors of History, Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XVII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University; London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press. 1912. Pp. xxiii, 306.)

THIS volume of unofficial correspondence between Governor Bernard of Massachusetts and Lord Barrington, a prominent official in the mother-country, is a welcome addition to the gradually growing list of printed sources. Confidential communications of this nature often reveal much that is hidden in the official despatches and, as a rule, their testimony carries conviction. There is extant a not inconsiderable mass

of such documents bearing on the history of the old British Empire. They can be found scattered throughout the personal papers of men like Coventry, Blathwayt, Wilmington, and Newcastle; and a number have been printed in the various reports of the British Historical Manuscripts Commission as well as in such collections as those containing the published correspondence of Randolph, Belcher, and Shirley. But this volume is unique in that the communications are entirely unofficial and, moreover, in most instances both the original letter and the reply are printed. The material was extracted from the voluminous Bernard Papers, which Jared Sparks purchased in England some sixty years ago and which now belong to the Library of Harvard University. In addition to these letters, the editors have printed in the appendixes some valuable illustrative documents from the same source.

These letters, it is true, add little to what was already known of this critical period in imperial history, but they are very valuable for the light they throw upon the spirit of the administrative system. Especially illuminating are Bernard's frank and explicit remarks about the relative importance and financial value of the various colonial governorships. Similarly, his persistent and protracted efforts to secure for one of his sons the reversion of the post of naval officer at Boston give an excellent insight into the forces controlling such appointments.

In general, Bernard appears to far better advantage than in the pages of the current American history of the Bancroft school; his portrait there as a blundering fomenter of friction is largely an imaginary one. Barrington, who is usually represented as an honest official with no firm political convictions, also appears in a more favorable light. He had both firm principles and political views; and, on one occasion chronicled here, he showed a delicate sense of honor, rare at all times and totally at variance with the traditional view of eighteenth-century political morality. In 1761, complaints against the collector of the customs at Boston had been forwarded to the proper authorities in England by Bernard; and, in addition, he unofficially explained the case to Barrington. Shortly before this Barrington had been made chancellor of the Exchequer and thus had acquired considerable influence in deciding the fate of this Treasury official. But he refrained from interfering, because, so he wrote, he thought it "would be unfair" on account of his relation to Bernard. The editors' gibe at Barrington as one of the "most successful of placemen who for three and thirty years fed at the public crib" is good literature but questionable history.

These letters also throw some light on Lord Botetourt's appointment in 1768 as governor of Virginia in succession to Amherst. It was charged at the time in the pages of Junius and in other sheets that this step was taken in order to provide for a needy courtier. This gossip has been repeated in many subsequent histories and is evidently accepted by the editors, who write that "the necessity for providing for Lord Botetourt" prevented Bernard from being transferred to Virginia.

Barrington's account should effectually dispose of this version. According to him, the state of Virginia was so alarming that it was thought necessary "a Governor and a man of great distinction" should reside there. As Amherst refused to assume the duties of his office, he added, "Lord Botetourt has been appointed in his room, a man every way fit for the business he has undertaken." In a subsequent letter, Barrington further wrote: "The News Papers have assigned other reasons for Lord Botetourt's appointment; but without the least ground. He never had an Idea of going to America till it was proposed to him."

GEORGE LOUIS BEER.

Writings of John Quincy Adams. Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. Volume I., 1779-1796. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. xxiv, 508.)

"I HAVE, indeed, had little apprehension of incurring the censure of writing too little", wrote John Quincy Adams to his father from the Hague. "My principal fear has been lest the charge of an opposite fault should be applicable. . . . I have sometimes given a latitude to opinions upon actors and events, which perhaps will be thought indiscreet." Whatever opinion the Secretary of State may have entertained of the discursive communications of this young diplomat, posterity has reason to be grateful to him for "descending into the detail of minute circumstances". Every reader of the monumental *Memoirs* knows the variety and wealth of his observations during a half-century of public service and a residence of a quarter-century at European courts. Indeed, one's first feeling is that of wonder that the archives of the Adams family can be made to yield sufficient new material to warrant a series of volumes of unpublished writings. This initial volume demonstrates that the undertaking is of first-rate importance.

While the primary purpose of the editor has been to print material relating chiefly to the public life of the second Adams, he has included many letters of rare biographical interest. For a period of nine years (April, 1785, to June, 1794), an important formative period in the life of Adams, the *Memoirs* are a blank; and the portions of the *Diary* published subsequently cover only the years 1787-1789. A score of letters judiciously selected from his correspondence with members of his family, therefore, adds materially to our knowledge of the young lawyer on the threshold of his career. He shared the fate of most young barristers. "I gain my causes", he wrote despondently to his brother Charles, "but I get no business". During this period of enforced idleness, he was drawn into politics, much against his conscience. "I have been really apprehensive of becoming politically known before I could establish a professional reputation", he wrote to his father. The publication of Paine's *Rights of Man* in 1791 provoked him to his first essay as a publicist. Under the pen-name *Publicola*, he addressed twelve letters

to the *Columbian Centinel* which were at once attributed to John Adams and brought upon the author much pointless abuse. These essays are reprinted for the first time. Immediately upon the proclamation of neutrality, young Adams hastened to the defense of the administration, under the pseudonym *Marcellus*. Later in the year, as *Columbus*, he vigorously denounced the conduct of the French minister Genet. Both of these contributions to the polemic literature of the day are reprinted from the *Centinel*. "I see very plainly whither your bark is tending", wrote his brother Charles in 1794, apropos of his part in a Boston town-meeting, when he "came forward and acquired much honor". "You must be your father's own son, notwithstanding the rocks he has pointed out to you." It was the articles by *Columbus* which, according to John Adams, earned for the author the regard of President Washington, and his first diplomatic appointment. On May 30, 1794, he was commissioned as minister to the Netherlands, at the age of twenty-six.

From the numerous and lengthy despatches of the young diplomat at the Hague, the editor has selected twenty-nine, chiefly with a view to supplying the gaps in the *Memoirs*. A hiatus between October 31, 1794, and January 1, 1795, for example, has been closed partially by eight letters to the Secretary of State and by several letters to John Adams. The fragmentary account in the *Memoirs* of Adams's mission to England, in connection with the ratification of the Jay treaty, is supplemented by both private and official correspondence. In an interesting letter to Timothy Pickering, acting secretary, December 5, 1795, the editor has inserted an important paragraph (p. 446), which was omitted from the text printed in the *Memoirs* (p. 159). If we may trust the letters written in confidence to his father, Adams had little taste for this English mission—possibly because his heart was at this time otherwise involved. He doubted his qualifications as a diplomat. "I have been accustomed all my life to plain dealing and candor", he wrote, "and am not sufficiently versed in the art of political swindling to be prepared for negotiating with an European Minister of State." That his superiors did not share this low opinion of his talents was abundantly proved by his immediate appointment as minister plenipotentiary to Portugal.

From time to time, especially when writing to his father, Adams searches his own soul with Puritan rigor. A single chance observation reveals a salient quality of character and projects the reader far into the storm and stress of his later career. "The struggle against a popular clamor is not without its charms in my mind. Nothing great or valuable among men was ever achieved without the counterpoise of strong opposition, and the persecution that proceeds from opinion becomes itself a title to esteem, when opinion is found to have been erroneous."

It is a guarantee of the excellence of the workmanship of this series that Mr. Worthington Ford has undertaken the editorial management. This first volume, carefully annotated, satisfies every demand of the reader.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

History of Ohio: the Rise and Progress of an American State. By EMILIUS O. RANDALL and DANIEL J. RYAN. In five volumes. (New York: The Century History Company. 1912. Pp. xix, 496; xx, 600; xviii, 455; xiii, 541; ix, 447.)

THE publishers of these five pretentious volumes about Ohio have done their part well. They have provided an attractive binding, excellent paper, a pleasing font of type, and an abundance of illustrative material, largely, however, in the form of pictures of many of the distinguished men who played a part in the making of the commonwealth. Their work deserves mention first because it stamps the character of the volumes. These were written largely with the purpose of magnifying Ohio and its great citizens rather than with the idea of furnishing that impartial and critical analysis of men and of measures demanded of the modern historian. The secondary title, *The Rise and Progress of an American State*, is the better one. There is plenty of material to illustrate that. As a collection of papers about Ohio and Ohioans the five volumes have great interest. They will be read with eager satisfaction by all who claim any share in the state pride felt by those who count Ohio their home commonwealth. And of such there is a myriad.

Viewed from the physical side alone the history is disappointing in its make-up. There is a lack of those features which have become so important in the minds of specialists. There is no separate bibliography of Ohio history. Where references are given they are embodied in the text. Foot-notes are not used. Essential statements and anecdotal material of relatively slight importance alike find place in the narrative. In some places lists of one sort or another occupy much space, where the relegation to an inconspicuous foot-note would answer every need. Biographical sketches are introduced frequently in connection with the story of the part played by the individual. These things are mentioned not as criticisms but as further illustrations of the statement that the *History* was prepared for the general reader, proud of his state's heritage, rather than for students of history.

The inevitable weakness of joint authorship is apparent. There is no master mind which has studied the whole period of Ohio history as a unit in itself and as a part of the larger story of American national life. This impression is emphasized by the use of the topical method of treatment, the fifth volume, indeed, being made up of a series of articles on special subjects, contributed by half a dozen writers. All through the work there are evidences of the want of co-ordination and condensation. Even when the separate essays are well developed they seem to be strung together instead of being woven into a continuous story of cumulative progress. There is an abundance of material for history-making without the finished product itself. The volumes are not well balanced. More space is devoted to prehistoric times and to the Indian history preceding statehood than is given to the century of effective endeavor commemorated by the *History*, during which Ohio gained prominent place in the sisterhood of states.

The contribution of Mr. Randall is found in the first two volumes, which treat of events in Ohio before the state was formed. His intimate knowledge of this period, gained through years of painstaking service as a careful historian and editor, is apparent. He has used the available material to good advantage. He has assembled in compact and convenient form the testimonies of those whose personal experiences in the Ohio valley have been recorded in journals of great original value. His desire to make the story both reliable and readable has been realized. Barring the criticism already made that too much space, relatively, is given to this part of the *History*, the initial volumes are commended for their interest and careful preparation.

Mr. Ryan's field is that of Ohio as a state. The third and fourth volumes are devoted to this century of growth and development. The materials are not so well organized as in the first two books and it is here that the exploitation of individual citizens at times appears too dominant. In places the text is strongly suggestive of the county history written for sale to those whose virtues are duly recorded therein. Things are mentioned as facts but the relation of those facts to the political, social, and economic development of the commonwealth, particularly as a member of a confederation of commonwealths, is not always shown in a satisfactory way. Ohio has long been known for the number and the excellence of its educational institutions. But there is entirely inadequate treatment of these in their connection with the shaping of the religious and social character of the state. The meeting and mixing of race elements from New England and from the South, with their influence upon civil, social, and religious history, does not find that examination rightly to be expected in a present-day story of state evolution. The same weakness is evident when the reader seeks for an interpretation of the political forces which have operated to give Ohio so prominent a place in the affairs of the larger nation of which it is a part. As a collector of materials Mr. Ryan has been more successful than as a keen analyzer of men, motives, and measures.

All these criticisms aside, however, this centennial *History of Ohio* will appeal strongly to state pride and will satisfy those for whom primarily it was written. It is a story of achievement with many a page of far more than ordinary interest and attractiveness.

FRANCIS W. SHEPARDSON.

Economic Beginnings of the Far West: how We Won the Land beyond the Mississippi. By KATHARINE COMAN. In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xix, 418; 450.)

ANY history of the occupation of the trans-Mississippi West must be primarily economic, whatever its title, since the first need of the pioneers was to eat and live. Professor Coman's new book on this theme confesses itself to be a treatise on economic history, but with slight altera-

tions it might pass for a general history of the far West. It touches upon exploration and social organization as well as upon economic foundations, and it finds the same difficulty that a general history would have in maintaining either unity or proportion.

There is little unity to the region and period that Professor Coman has chosen. The western prairies and plains, the mountain plateaus, and the Pacific slope present different problems in resources, chronology, and nationality. Five nations in four centuries made various experiments in one region or another. Geographically they were all "western", but logically few of the attempts are connected in the same chain of events. "Struggle for possession", in the strictest sense, rarely occurred. Each nation tested itself upon the West, and was superseded by the next, until the advance of American agriculture and transportation swept them all aside. There is a succession of episodes, rather than a coherent contest to be described in the period of beginnings.

The main divisions of the book deal with the Spanish occupation, exploration and the fur-trade, the advance of the settlers, the transcontinental migration, and free land and free labor. The first volume in general treats of exploration and colonization, while the American occupation fills the second. The divisions vary in length and manner of treatment, and the classification is loose, chiefly because of the inherent disorganization of the material. Pike, for instance, is classed among the colonizers. Texas appears in the same category, and reappears in connection with the American advance. The Santa Fé trade is associated with this advance instead of with the transcontinental migration, although the Mormons, who stopped short of the Pacific, are catalogued with the latter.

The book has a distinct value for reference in the history of the West. It gives in one work a survey that has long been needed. Its notes and bibliography are voluminous. Some of its chapters contain the best brief treatments available for class-room use. The Mormon migration, the acquisition of Oregon, and the conquest of California are described with circumstance and vivacity. Other chapters, particularly those on the explorers, are convenient statements of facts everywhere accessible. A few are misleading and inadequate.

The thirteen-page chapter on the Pacific railway and the Homestead Act invites comparison with the fifteen pages given to La Salle, and the twelve devoted to the Seven Cities of Cibola. It ought to have been much larger, or omitted entirely. Since the decision was to regard these topics as within the scope of the book they should have been treated according to their importance as fundamental factors in the American occupation. They should not have been disfigured by statements that the pony express was operated from 1852 to 1860, or that McClellan and Mullan (who were only the subordinates of General Isaac I. Stevens), explored the railroad route from Lake Superior to Puget Sound; and they ought to have included clear summaries of the Union Pacific Act and the Homestead Act.

The book has some inaccuracies: for instance, Professor Coman takes Pike's intentions at the explorer's own statement of them (I. 48), misdates the publication of his journal (II. 75), and gives a confusing reference to Professor Bolton's edition of the confiscated papers (I. 403); she accepts Jonathan Carver without a question; on a single page (I. 234) she speaks of "consul" Genet, and refers to Washington's Secretary of War as "Attorney General Knox".

Most of the works cited in the forty-eight-page bibliography can be found in any large university library. They are not listed with bibliographical precision, and, like the notes, are clumsily arranged by chapters at the end of each volume. In the cases of many of the works of travel the author has been content to refer the reader only to the *Trail Makers* series, or to Dr. Thwaites's useful reprints.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

History of Road Legislation in Iowa. By JOHN E. BRINDLEY. *History of Work Accident Indemnity in Iowa.* By E. H. DOWNEY. [Iowa Economic History Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society. 1912. Pp. xiii, 422; xiii, 337.)

Applied History. Edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Volume I. (Iowa City: State Historical Society. 1912. Pp. xix, 638.)

HISTORICAL societies in the eastern states have generally confined their activity to the colonial and revolutionary periods, with an occasional glance at some aspect of the Civil War. In the Middle West the period of origins extends well down into the nineteenth century and it is not surprising to find the historical societies there devoting a large share of their attention to this later period. The State Historical Society of Iowa, however, has gone far beyond this and by invading the recognized domains of economics, political science, and jurisprudence, has, under the guise of economic and "applied" history achieved the extreme of practicality and "up-to-date-ness".

The *History of Road Legislation* contains more history, in the accepted sense of the term, than either of the other volumes. The subject is treated chronologically, beginning with the acts of Michigan and Wisconsin territories, and continuing down through the various stages of development from the plank-road system of the forties to the good roads movement and the state highway commission of recent times. The volume concludes with a comparative study of road legislation and an appendix which presents the present status of road administration in each of the states of the Union. The details of the numerous acts are given so fully that it is frequently difficult for the reader to grasp the significant things. Some help is afforded, however, by convenient summaries at the end of each chapter. The author's "Road Legislation in Iowa" in the *Applied History* is a rearrangement of these summaries, together with a statement of principles which should obtain in future legislation.

With reference to the *History of Work Accident Indemnity in Iowa*, one can almost paraphrase Voltaire's celebrated remark about the Holy Roman Empire. It does deal with work accident indemnity, but it is not history and it has little more application to Iowa than to any of the other states. As a general treatise on the law and economics of work accident indemnity it appears to be a scholarly and valuable work. An abridgment of this work also is included in the volume of *Applied History*. The other studies in this volume deal with the Regulation of Urban Utilities; Primary Elections; Corrupt Practices Legislation; and Tax Administration. They are all studies in comparative legislation with special reference to the needs of Iowa.

The most interesting part of this book to the student of history is the editor's introduction in which he sets forth his theory of "applied history" as "the latest chapter in the history of historical study". The term is defined as "the use of the scientific knowledge of history and experience in efforts to solve present problems of human betterment". For justification in his attempt to abolish the "fitting interval" between the studies of historians and the present day and to make history, not only enable us to understand the present, but guide our footsteps in the future, the author appeals to Robinson's *New History*. After reading the introduction one is somewhat disappointed to find that the articles do not belong to some new species of intellectual endeavor but are merely studies in economics or political science with occasional reachings back into the past such as one is accustomed to find in such studies.

The format of the volumes is excellent. They are printed in large type on good paper and substantially bound in buckram. Each is equipped with an elaborate analytical index. The notes and references have been grouped at the end, an arrangement which is most inconvenient for the reader. On the whole, the work done in these volumes was eminently worth doing and they give evidence of extensive research and careful scholarship. It is an open question, however, whether such work could not be done to better advantage by a legislative reference bureau, leaving the historical society to devote its undivided energies to the exploitation of the "past history" of the state.

SOLON J. BUCK.

Historia de los Archivos de Cuba. Por JOAQUÍN LLAVERÍAS, Capitán del Ejército Libertador y Jefe de la Sección de Gobierno y Correspondencia del Archivo Nacional. Prólogo de F. de P. CORONADO, Secretário de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba. (Havana: Imp. "La Universal" de Ruiz y Comp. 1912. Pp. xi, 382.)

THE mere bulk of great archival collections seems generally to deaden interest and chide initiative in their custodians, but to this rule Mr. Llaverías is an exception. Thirteen years in the archive he describes have evidently no whit chilled the ardor of his service. To one

acquainted with the heart-breaking difficulties under which he and his fellows have labored and who knows personally the whole-hearted devotion to that work of the author of this book the qualities it embodies of tenacity and enthusiasm call for appreciation before any other of its merits or demerits.

The title of the book should read "administrative" or "external" history. It is mainly a record of the successive legal bases, the internal organization and personnel, the statistics of growth and depletion and of work accomplished—so many documents received in such a year from such an office: boxes, bundles, packages, or separate; so many sackfuls burned; so many thousand expedientes indexed or legajos renumbered and reshelfed. Most of these data can of course have no interest save for a very few students, but this permanent record is nevertheless desirable. In so far as such statistics are really worthless one may reflect that even American university libraries waste their time to-day on like trivialities; and, besides, they are eminently characteristic of Spanish officialdom. If one calls to-day in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid for one legajo or a thousand every call-slip goes to the Ministry for preservation and record! Some of Mr. Llaverías's minutest entries are really of great interest. Thus, remembering how some of Spain's proudest titular honors were cheapened in Cuba by sale and politics, one starts at the item of twenty-four boxes of letters-patent of King Amadeo's medal: time failed for the marketing of that particular lot of honors. Mr. Llaverías narrates also, in detail, the physical vicissitudes of the present Archivo General, and the lesser administrative collections that preceded it, in their successive homes. The story is a frightful indictment of the governments responsible. He vastly overestimates, however, the difference he imagines to have existed in the relative treatment accorded the Peninsular and colonial archives (pp. 2, 121, 209). Both were equally the prey of a corrupt, disjointed, kaleidoscopic, lethargic, and benighted administration. But nothing in the colonial period approaches in destructive barbarism the moving of the archive in 1906, with street-cleaners, chutes, and garbage carts, under the republic (pp. 267-270).

The data given respecting the destruction of documents considered worthless (pp. 32, 47, 58, 67-70, 93, 106, 197-198, 288; cf. 229, 244) explain the paucity in the archive, to-day, of eighteenth-century records, particularly of the eastern provinces and of an economic nature. The materials for the older history must be sought in Spain; and there only little material is preserved. Odd remnants remain in Havana. Doubtless much of this destruction was needless. The reviewer has utilized legajos of eighteenth-century financial records of Florida literally eaten into lacework by worms, and bound in a solid mass with their deposits; yet even such records will yield their data under patient inquiry.

In the prologue to this book by Mr. Coronado, that gentleman credits Mr. Llaverías with things the latter neither accomplishes nor attempts.

He does not, namely, tell us what papers the archive now contains—save, indeed, as above indicated, and excepting a summary tabular statement (pp. 325–327; cf. 115–116 and chapter 25). For that information one must go to the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (1902 to date)—the credit for initiating which is claimed by Mr. Llaverías (p. 246)—and to Mr. Perez's *Guide* (Washington, 1907). Neither is it true that the author "exhausts the subject" from 1538 onward. To the five pages that bring the narrative down to 1810 many other interesting details might have been added. Moreover, both Mr. Coronado and Mr. Llaverías lack precise information on two matters of primary importance; namely, the great shipments of papers to Spain in 1888–1889 and 1898. As regards the latter (pp. x, 210) it is strange that the author should have overlooked the analysis of those papers given in the *Revista de Archivos* (Madrid, 1901, p. 826); and though he does cite the royal order that commanded their removal to the castle at Segovia, it remains to be added that only the military papers (about 3600 legajos out of a total of 5206 legajos, 928 printed volumes, and 635 manuscript books—partly of the Philippines and Porto Rico) were, in fact, eventually so disposed of. All the papers were piled for a time in the court of one of the ministries in Madrid, where they were exposed to rain. Much, at least, of the portion now in the basement of the Archivo Histórico Nacional is in horrible condition; and presumably the same is true of the portion at Segovia.

Of the 2341 legajos remitted in 1888–1889 Mr. Llaverías prints in full the official inventories (pp. 143–191, cf. 138–139 and 196). This shipment included 724 legajos organized as collections, specifically, of Louisiana, East Florida, West Florida, and New Orleans (respectively 186, 211, 289, and 38 legajos), 119 relative to Santo Domingo, 256 relative to the continental colonies, 1230 relative to Cuba, and 12 unclassified. Of these last four groups, moreover, some hundreds of other legajos relate, in whole or in part, to Louisiana and the Floridas. It is extraordinary that Mr. Llaverías should not know, or state, that of most of the office archive of the captains general (1216 legajos) and of most of the West Florida collection, there exists in Havana an index (which should have accompanied the documents to Spain). Such defects in the account of matters so important compel doubts as to how far the book can be assumed to be either reliable or exhaustive in its lesser details.

It should be added that Mr. Roscoe R. Hill has just completed an examination, for the Carnegie Institution, of most of those legajos remitted in 1888–1889 which concern the Floridas and Louisiana, in facilitation of which it was the reviewer's privilege to make known to the Institution the existence of the index above mentioned—and his report will supplant the brief (and misleading) references in Dr. Shepherd's *Guide* (Washington, 1907, pp. 77–79).

Specific references to Louisiana and Florida records occur on some forty pages, almost all of which can be located through the index, which is uncommonly satisfactory.

FRANCIS S. PHILBRICK.

Independencia de América: Fuentes para su Estudio. Catálogo de Documentos conservados en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla. Primera Serie. By PEDRO TORRES LANZAS, Jefe del Archivo de Indias. In six volumes. (Madrid. 1912. Pp. xiv, 464; 510; 526; 558; 584; 152.)

OF the many confusing periods in the still unknown history of Spanish America, there is none more puzzling to the student than that which includes the wars of independence. Never have the causes, progress, and consequences of the revolt of the colonies been given the scientific investigation that they deserve. The details of the struggle, as they may concern a particular country or some prominent individual, have been chosen often enough for narration; but the exposition does not rest on an elaborate and impartial use of original material. Accordingly, the appearance of the six preliminary volumes of what promises to be an extensive calendar of the documents on the subject available in the General Archive of the Indies at Seville is most gratifying. That they are published under the immediate supervision of the director of the archive, Señor Pedro Torres Lanzas, already well known for his contributions to cartography, affords confidence in the accuracy of the compilation.

The volumes in question cover the years 1546-1842. They supply 8000 items, of which fourteen, relating chiefly to the ancestry of Miranda, Bolivar, and Sucre, are dated prior to 1750, and forty-eight after 1826, the great bulk naturally falling between 1808 and 1826. Arranged in chronological order, the extracts give the date, the place where the document was written, an outline of the subject-matter, and the shelf-number. The reference to place of origin, however, is not always cited, and the locality where any particular event occurred has to be determined at times from the text of the item, or from a geographical allusion in the shelf-number itself. If the documents bear the same date, no especial order is observable. The sixth volume contains an index of names and places, the usefulness of which is much impaired by its arrangement of items according to separate volumes instead of continuously through all five.

In the introduction the editor raises the question: "Who knows the history of the independence of America from the Spanish viewpoint?" Yet, in some measure at least, it was precisely because the early work of Torrente, the only important treatise on the general course of the struggle, is so pro-Spanish in tone that Spanish-American writers have dealt with the matter in an equally partizan fashion on the other side. The query, indeed, arouses a suspicion lest the present compilation should have been made on the basis of a selection of material quite as unfair; but a close examination of the contents of the several volumes serves to dispel the thought.

Out of the enormous mass of documents preserved at Seville, and soon to be swelled by the papers relating to America which are found

in the archives at Madrid, the compiler has striven, conscientiously it would seem, to bring together only some of the most important. He alludes frankly (p. xiii) to the total omission of any reference to the rebellion of Tupac Amaro (*sic*), for example, and calls attention to the relatively limited number of items bearing upon such incidents as the uprisings in Bogotá and Mexico, the formation of juntas, the work of Miranda, the attempt of the British to seize Buenos Ayres, and the recognition of Ferdinand VII. For some reason, also, the illustrative documents, which the compiler declares (p. ix) were to be inserted at the close of the fifth volume, are not forthcoming. Typographical slips now and then warn the student to be careful about his dates. A brief description of the mode of classification followed in the General Archive of the Indies would have enabled the worker unfamiliar with the arrangement to fix more readily the scene of action associated with a document. In the same connection it would have been interesting to learn just what portions of the entire collection have been levied upon for the present volumes.

Apart from the great value that the calendar has in other respects, two features deserve special remark. Of these one reveals the extent to which the idea of independence had been developing long before the revolution began, and the other, how exceedingly complex the struggle was. Nowhere else in print is the emphasis laid so definitely on the necessity of studying the movement in the closest possible relationship with the local environment in each of the centres of origin, before attempting to form a conception of it as a whole.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

MINOR NOTICES

Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. Von Dr. Jur. Mariano San Nicolò. Erster Band. (Munich, Oskar Beck, 1913, pp. 225.) A reviewer may easily do this book an injustice. On the one hand, he is bound to find it unsuited for the reader at large. It has, indeed, a few narrative passages that are informing and easily read, but the main body of the book is so sprinkled with snippets of Greek and citations of sources and authorities that only the scholar will proceed very far with it. On the other hand, it does not yield much that is new to the specialist. Even historians who have mastered the works of Ziebarth and Poland on the Greek *Vereinswesen*, Rostowzew's *Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates*, Lesquier's *Institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, and Wilcken and Mitteis's *Grundzüge der Papyrskunde* have little to learn from this book. They will be rewarded for their patience, if they read it through, only here and there, by a bit of good criticism. We doubt whether it will convey many new ideas to them or to the professional papyrologists.

The author is partly to blame if his book—which shows paper, print, presswork, and proof-reading of rare excellence for a German work of

this character—creates a bad impression. He does not tell us that its chief content is the classified material which he means to discuss and interpret in the second volume, and he leaves it to the reader to infer that such is the case from the table of contents to volume II. which a happy afterthought led some one to add on the cover of volume I.

Volume I. of San Nicolò's *Aegyptisches Vereinswesen* is, accordingly, open to examination on two points only: the completeness and discrimination with which the materials are gathered, and the principles on which they are classified. On both accounts, however, the author is deserving of all praise. He alludes to himself in the preface as a beginner. It appears that he has been well schooled in papyrus studies, by Wenger of Munich evidently, to whom the book is dedicated. He knows well both the sources and the secondary authorities, and has, apparently, left nothing undone to make his collection complete in every particular.

Ziebarth divided Greek associations into such as were economic and such as served ideal purposes, carrying into illicit detail a classification mooted by Aristotle and approved by Gierke. Poland sought to arrange them according to the names by which they designated themselves, and in so doing made a lot of nice and suggestive distinctions. But his grouping of them into *orgeones*, *thiasoi* (which term San Nicolò has but imperfectly understood), and clubs whose name ended in *stai*, accords well only with Attic conditions, and proved not very helpful when extended to Greece generally. Accordingly, San Nicolò has been well advised to follow neither Ziebarth nor Poland, to discard a twofold system altogether, and to arrange the Egyptian associations according to his judgment as to the nature of the chief service they rendered. That this results in many arbitrary and temporary allocations is frankly and properly admitted. But the whole effect is good. It has, however, to be shown still that Poland's idea of a classification on purely formal grounds is inapplicable to Egypt. Only, let not the principles be abstracted from the usage of Athens or any other country but Egypt itself.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Einführung in das Historische Denken. Von Karl Lamprecht. Zweiter, unveränderter Abdruck. [Ordentliche Veröffentlichung der "Pädagogischen Literatur-Gesellschaft Neue Bahnen".] (Leipzig, R. Voigtländer, 1913, pp. 164.) This little book restates in more popular form the doctrines set forth in the author's *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft*, published in 1904 (English translation under the title *What is History?*, New York, 1905). Hence it contains nothing essentially new. Part I. ("Entwicklung des historischen Sinns in Deutschland", pp. 1-53) seeks to show the correspondence, in the several "stages" of German history, between the ruling conceptions of history and the general state of culture; in part II. ("Das geschichtliche Denken der Gegenwart", pp. 54-164) the author draws a constructive picture of

the process of evolution in history as he conceives it. The reader meets again Lamprecht's well-known "culture-epochs" of "Symbolism", "Typism", "Conventionalism", "Individualism", and "Subjectivism", working themselves out under the modifying influences of "Ages of Transition", "Renaissances", "Receptions", and so on, and expressing themselves in successive "dominants" of the "social Psyche".

As Lamprecht thinks of it, history is a vast process in "psycho-genesis"—the evolution of human consciousness (see pp. 53, 71, 104-105, 143). Even more than formerly he lays stress on the psychological interpretation of history (pp. 130, note, 142, 145-146). The chief task of the historian is to trace the unfolding of the social soul, first in the great national cultures, but finally in the whole of humanity.

The book has nothing to say of historical method or of any practical phase of the science. It is an endeavor to formulate the laws of historical progress in terms of expanding human consciousness; hence it belongs in the field of the philosophy of history or of historical sociology rather than of historical science. Thus seen, it contains much truth, many suggestive and illuminating comments, showing broad learning, mature reflection, and great earnestness of conviction. Here and there the writer reveals more caution in statement in the face of the severe criticism of the last twenty years; but his faith in his own conclusions is unshaken. Very noticeable, too, throughout the book is the easy assumption that his point of view is the only truly "modern" one. As a portrayal of the present state of historical thinking, Lamprecht's book must be taken in a purely personal way.

ARLEY BARTHLOW SHOW.

English Rule in Gascony, 1100-1250, with special Reference to the Totens. By Frank Burr Marsh, Ph.D., Instructor in History, University of Texas. [University of Michigan Historical Studies.] (Ann Arbor, Michigan, George Wahr, 1912, pp. xi, 178.) It has long been regarded as established that southern Aquitaine clung to England after 1204 because the King of England was a more distant and a less threatening suzerain than the King of France, and because the commercial prosperity of the great southern cities was largely dependent upon English trade. The present "extended" and "recast" doctoral dissertation furnishes new evidence to support the second of these assumptions. It represents a thorough search through the published Close and Patent Rolls and the few other public documents which contained material relating to Guienne and Gascony. No important novel conclusions are advanced. The towns appear as the dominant factor in Gascon political life, and the great commercial families, especially those engaged in the English wine-trade, dominate the towns. The political divisions in the towns are shown to have been drawn upon more complex lines than those of democracy and aristocracy; the fact that some great houses traded mainly with Spain and others with England was often more determinative of party align-

ment. Bordeaux was the wine market of Gascony; Bordeaux sent its wine largely to England, and in Bayonnese vessels. "The extent of English rule on the continent may roughly be defined as the radius within which the Bordeaux-Bayonne pressure was strongly felt. . . . A system of privileges which in its results closely approximates to the preferential tariff of to-day united the scattered realm of Henry" (p. 153).

The book is unusually free from errors, but its bulk and its pretension are out of proportion to its contribution to knowledge. The author includes Gascon material when he finds it in the sources though it add little or nothing to the argument, and many pages are loaded with minutiae which, at most, belong to foot-notes. Some portions do little more than restate the conclusions of well-known monographs; the twenty-five page chapter on Simon de Montfort's "dictatorship" contains forty-three references to Bémont's biography. Yet the work is not final, even within its narrow limits of time and theme. The Close and Patent Rolls being the main source, it seems odd that the Close-Rolls volume for 1231-1234 (London, 1905) should not have been used at all nor included in the bibliography; the volume for 1237-1242 (1911) probably appeared too late to be used. No chronicle material, French or English, except only Matthew Paris, appears. "No use was attempted . . . of patent, charter, or close rolls not yet calendared, nor was search made in local archives."

A. B. WHITE.

Machiavellis Geschichtsauffassung und sein Begriff Virtù: Studien zu seiner Historik. Von Eduard Wilhelm Mayer. [Historische Bibliothek, Band 31.] (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1912, pp. ix, 125.) In this country, with its advanced university studies modelled in so many respects on those of Germany, the printed dissertation has always been felt to be a rather sorry necessity imposed by the doctor's degree. I doubt whether this apologetic feeling is shared by the country of origin, for not only do the German universities continue to enjoy a vast quantitative superiority in this branch of literature, but the dissertation itself, in dryness, confusion, and general absence of any reasonable ground for obtruding itself on the notice of a harassed public, leaves its American imitation far behind. A dull doctor's dissertation planlessly enlarged by sporadic patchwork—such is this latest publication on Machiavelli. It has, in the present reviewer's opinion, neither inner life nor outer form, and the best that can be said for it—which, according to the reader's viewpoint, may also be the worst—is that it has a kind of muddy *Gründlichkeit* indicative of a tireless, worm-like grubbing among the alluvial deposits of the great Florentine's thought. The author undertakes to define and illustrate certain concepts and theses which go to make up Machiavelli's permanent mental background. Such are: the place, in the Florentine's estimate, of the individual in the *Geschichtsprozess*, his persistent rationalization of human nature, his dogmatic and humanistic bias, and finally his supreme touchstone for man and society

alike, *virtù*. I note, in brief, some of the author's findings. "The characteristic expression of Machiavelli's human ideal is energy, *virtù*" (p. 15). "*Virtù* is organized energy" (p. 20). "The opposite of *virtù* is *viltà*, weakness, lack of energy" (p. 19; also p. 85). "The rationalized individual is for Machiavelli the agent of historical causality" (p. 40), and consequently the Florentine has not yet reached the point of looking on man as an historical product (p. 42). "He comprehended religion only in the effect it has on men, not how it originated in them" (p. 97). These are all characteristic preconceptions of the famous author of the *Prince*, lending an undoubted bias to his reading of history, but they are certainly not new, and the excessive and disorderly illustrations supplied are an untold weariness to the mind. There is evidence that the author entertains a profound admiration for Burckhardt and his *Cultur der Renaissance*. This would be a credit to his discernment if he let himself be stimulated by Burckhardt's results without falling into the master's loose and discursive method. Exactly why the book should have been included in the *Historische Bibliothek*, which is supposed to deal in something more evolved than the raw laboratory product, is hard to say.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Part of the Opus Tertium of Roger Bacon, including a Fragment now printed for the first Time. Edited by A. G. Little. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. IV.] (Aberdeen, The University Press, 1912, pp. xlviii, 92.) With the approach of the seventh centenary of the approximate date of the birth of Roger Bacon, English scholars at length are making earnest efforts to publish a complete edition of the works of the most famous representative of the important "Oxford School" of the thirteenth century.

Mr. Little has decidedly promoted this difficult undertaking by the discovery and publication of a missing fragment of the *Opus Tertium*. This work, as it appears in Brewer's edition in the Rolls series (1859), is by no means complete. Several years ago, Professor Duhem of Bordeaux discovered an extensive fragment of the missing portion, which he edited under the title *Un Fragment inédit de l'Opus Tertium de Roger Bacon* (Quaracchi, 1909). Now Mr. Little has added to our good fortune by finding another fragment, covering nineteen pages in print, which fits in between the end of Brewer's edition and the beginning of Duhem's fragment. In addition to his newly discovered fragment, Mr. Little has carefully re-edited Duhem's fragment with some modifications made in the light of new manuscripts. An extended summary in English of both fragments enhances the value of the book. Unfortunately the *Opus Tertium* is not entirely complete even now.

L. J. P.

Annals of the Emperor Charles V. By Francisco López Gómara. Spanish text and English translation, edited, with an introduction and

notes by Roger Bigelow Merriman, Assistant Professor of History, Harvard University. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. vii, 302.) Professor Merriman, in printing Gómara's *Annals* with a translation, has done a service to all interested in the history of the sixteenth century. Probably at the suggestion of Cortés, whose chaplain he was, Gómara began his well-known works *Chronicle of the Barbarrojas or the Sea Battles of our Days* and *A General History of the Indies*. After Cortés's death, Gómara continued his labors as an historian under very discouraging circumstances, for his *Chronicle* was not published until three hundred years after his death, while his exceedingly popular *History of the Indies*, reprinted seven times in two years and translated nearly twenty times in fifty years, was prohibited in Spain under heavy penalties; and the prohibition was apparently sternly enforced. Mr. Merriman conjectures, doubtless truly, that the cause of this punishment of the popular author was his extravagant praise of Cortés, and the implied suggestion of blame for the government's attitude towards him. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the original manuscript of the *Annals* perished and that the work exists to-day only in two seventeenth-century copies; one in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid and the other in the British Museum.

The difficult task of translation has been done with skill. The Spanish is reproduced in an English clear and accurate but not too smooth to give the effect of the original. The notes are neither too scanty nor too verbose.

That Gómara's *Annals* will modify in any important particulars the accepted view of the reign of Charles V., is not probable. It is based, to a considerable extent, on contemporary historians, but, in the words of Sandoval which the translator puts on his title-page, Gómara "noted all that he saw and heard during his life". Nevertheless he is too partizan and careless to be depended on very much without strong verification. But the book gives us in brief space an amazingly vivid suggestion of the mental attitude of a typical learned Spanish ecclesiastic. Such a passage, for instance, as his pen-portrait of Luther is a living picture of Gómara himself and of the educated Spaniard of his day.

The *Annals* also contains items of fresh information. For instance, this paragraph on the death of Caesar Borgia. "He fled to Navarre. When he was there Ximen García de los Fayos, otherwise called Agreda, and another brother of his, killed him because he had grievously quarrelled with the followers of the Count of Lerin, who was going to relieve the Castle of Viana from starvation. Certain men of Logroño, who were there, told me how the drummer Damiancello finished him off as he lay groaning on the ground."

On comparing this review with the preface of the book, the writer finds a very close agreement with its estimate of the value of Gómara—an indication of the fairness and lack of bias with which Mr. Merriman has interpreted the manuscript on which he has put so much and such successful work.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

Deutsche Geschichte vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zum Untergange des Römisch-Deutschen Reiches, 1648-1806. Von Dr. Ottocar Weber, Professor an der Deutschen Universität in Prag. [Bibliothek der Geschichtswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Erich Brandenburg.] (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1913, pp. viii, 204.) Professor Weber, who has written various monographs on German and Bohemian history in the eighteenth century, has undertaken to compress within two hundred pages the story of German history from the end of the Thirty Years' War to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. Apparently the historical series of which this is a volume aims both to serve as a text-book for German students and also to be so well written as to appeal to a wider German public beyond the walls of the class-room. The author has succeeded, we should judge, in fairly satisfying both these aims. His six chapters, divided into twenty-four consecutive sections, deal chiefly with political history; constitutional and economic development is wholly omitted; social and artistic changes are only lightly touched upon.

One is apt to think of this period of German history as being chiefly notable for the rise of Prussia and the consequent conflict between Prussia and Austria. This is undoubtedly the most important single phenomenon, and the author gives a good brief statement of it. But he also ventures to devote much of his precious space to succinct accounts of what was happening in the lesser German states. The reader is made to realize that Prussia and Austria were not the only figures on the German stage in the eighteenth century. This is, from one point of view, an advantage, because it is more nearly the way the men of the eighteenth century themselves thought of their history. It is because we know what Prussia did in the nineteenth century that we are apt to give a disproportionate attention to what she was doing in the century and a half preceding. Therefore Professor Weber, after finishing his sections on Frederick II. and Maria Theresa, gives a two or three page sketch of the rulers and the leading political events between 1648 and 1806 in each of the lesser German territories of Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, Anhalt, Württemberg, Hesse, Nassau, Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg, as well as in the ecclesiastical lands and the Free Cities. He briefly characterizes, with a trenchant phrase or two, each princelet; and owing to the variety of his sprightly language his recital of the long list of duodecimo rulers is neither so commonplace nor so monotonous as one might expect. He also indicates very briefly to what extent each prince dissipated or husbanded his financial resources; how he aped Louis XIV. or tried to embody in legislation and practice the "enlightened" ideas of the eighteenth century; or how he built great buildings and new residences, such as Karlsruhe and Mannheim, which later became famous. This is the most distinctive feature of this book.

Obeying the severe limitation of space imposed by the general editor of the series, Professor Weber has managed to pack a surprisingly large amount of material between the covers of this slender volume. His

narrative is clear and concise, and enlivened by a genial sense of humor and by the use of lively, almost slangy, phrases. He almost always adopts impartially the best opinion of most recent monographs. Only in his statement of the relation of Germany to the French Revolution does he show some German bias.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Manuel Pratique pour l'Étude de la Révolution Française. Par Pierre Caron, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales. [Manuels de Bibliographie Historique, vol. V.] (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. xv, 294.) The competence of the author of this *Manuel* need not be discussed, and students in this field will hardly need the assurance that the volume bears throughout the marks of M. Caron's remarkable combination of comprehensive and exact knowledge with judgment and literary skill. What is here aimed at, and accomplished, is well expressed by M. Aulard in his introductory letter: "J'ai passé une grande partie de ma vie à me procurer, une à une, à hasard des recherches, incomplètement ou péniblement, les indispensables connaissances que votre excellent Manuel offre toutes à la fois, épargnant au lecteur des années de recherches et d'incertitude." From the point of view of the worker, especially the young worker, in the history of France from 1789 to 1799, it would be difficult to point out how M. Caron could have put any part of his limited space to better use.

After some preliminary pages concerning the more general aids already available, chapter I., *L'Organisation du Travail*, describes official and other series of publications in the sources, and gives information as to learned societies and reviews working mainly in this field; the student is thus given incidentally a comprehensive view of a large part of the results of recent research. Chapter II., *Sources Manuscrites*, supplies details about the more important *dépôts*, French and foreign; the chief feature here is the admirable supplement (pp. 64-110) to existing guides in the use of the National Archives for the period. Chapter III., *Sources Imprimées*, occupies the remainder of the book; this may be looked on as provisional, since M. Caron has now for some time been engaged in the preparation of a comprehensive *Manuel* of the published sources of the Revolution, destined to form part of the Picard *Manuels de Bibliographie Historique*. We are here supplied meanwhile with a most valuable addition to our working resources; of special help are the brief critical estimates of the older compilations.

The utility of the volume is greatly increased by the printing as appendix of a full *Concordance des Calendriers Républicain et Grégorien*. It should be pointed out that the author confines his work to the Revolution within French territory (in the revolutionary sense). We need more than that, but this fact should not diminish our appreciation of what M. Caron has done for us in the publication under review.

V C.

Friedrich Gentz: an Opponent of the French Revolution and Napoleon. By Paul F. Reiff, Ph.D. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois, 1912, pp. 159.) The aim of this study, says the author, is, in the first place, "a careful representation of Gentz's struggle against the first Napoleon. Its second object—historically the first—is an account of Gentz's relations to the first French revolution. The introductory chapter will try to give the causes of Gentz's attitude in both cases." In the pursuance of these objects Mr. Reiff devotes forty pages to an examination of the environment, the personal characteristics, and the political theories of Gentz, thirty pages to his struggle against the Revolution, and seventy to the struggle against Napoleon. He has succeeded, probably as well as one could succeed in such limited space, in presenting the ideas and activities of his subject. He avoids the common mistake of exaggerating the importance of his man. "A historic figure of the first rank, it is true, he never was; one may even hesitate to give him second rank, since the influence which he exercised on the course of events has, after all, been but a small one. Judged by the whole make-up of his nature, however, he undoubtedly deserves to be called a very remarkable personage" (p. 155).

Mr. Reiff's monograph rests upon a study of the numerous writings of Gentz. What is important in Gentz is, not his political theories, which do not convince one as reasoned theories at all but largely as instinctive prejudices, but his criticisms and descriptions of events and persons and his proposals for the political conduct of the governments of Europe to which he was a self-accredited adviser. He was an accomplished and facile pamphleteer accustomed to consider himself, and considered by many others, a publicist. He made his debut, early in 1793, by a translation of Burke's *Reflections* and by five political treatises of his own, followed shortly by translations of works on the Revolution by Mallet du Pan and Mounier. His criticisms of the Revolution and of Napoleon are generally superficial and commonplace in substance but are interesting in the form in which they are presented. Here lay whatever power he possessed, the ability to write effectively. He was at first not unsympathetic to the Revolution. He would consider the failure of this movement as one of the greatest misfortunes that ever befell the human race, this "attempt to better humanity on a large scale". But the events of 1792, the "ever horrible year", completely changed his tone, and he strikes a pace, truly Burkean in its rhetorical velocity, which he maintains until the end. The Revolution is simply the triumph of the "fanaticism of vanity". Napoleon appears as "a faithless, vain, petty usurper", as a blood-reeking beast, as Baal, and as Beelzebub. It is no occasion for surprise that as Gentz contemplated the astonishing successes of such sinister phenomena he at one time thought that "the human race is just good enough to be drowned in a general flood". But there was some comfort to be had, from the contemplation of England, for which country Gentz's admiration was boundless and hyperbolic in

expression. It was the rock of justice, the blessing and last hope of the world. "For this reason no enlightened European will be able to perceive England's prosperity without exclaiming with that dying patriot: '*Esto perpetua*'" (p. 81).

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Napoleon. By Herbert Fisher, M.A., F.B.A. (New York, Henry Holt and Company; London, Williams and Norgate, 1913, pp. 256.) This little volume of sixty thousand words is a comprehensive biographical sketch of rare excellence. Its brevity permits, and its charm of style and intensity of interest compel reading at a sitting. The intensely dramatic nature of Napoleon and of his career, therefore, rightly impresses the reader with the feeling of rapid movement, breathless suspense, and inevitable fate. With true literary and historical appreciation, correct proportion and perspective are also observed.

Never has an Englishman written of Napoleon more impartially or with truer insight. One or two phrases will suffice to illustrate. In 1803 Napoleon discussed the declaration of war against England "in a superb message to the senate". "The St. Helena captivity . . . is barren neither of historical significance nor of intellectual grandeur." The constructive statesmanship of Napoleon is accorded adequate space and just valuation. "Napoleon applied to the problems of law a grand natural intelligence. . . . He stood upon the platform of the public interest. . . . The civil code . . . registers and perpetuates the vast social improvements introduced into Europe by the French Revolution." "Napoleon was the genius of economy." In France, "he built upon a groundwork of inherited instinct, followed the centralizing trend of national history, and obeyed the ordered genius of the Latin race". The statement of the analogies of the Napoleonic with the British, Roman, and Carolingian empires (pp. 160-166), and the summary of military tactics in the eighteenth century (pp. 31-36) are real gems.

An appendix of Napoleonic maxims, a genealogical table, a bibliography, an index, and three sketch maps complete the volume. Mr. Fisher, as the chief editor of the *Home University Library*, in which this volume is number 57, has set a high standard for the series.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Paris sous Napoléon: Spectacles et Musées. Par L. de Lanzac de Laborie. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1913, pp. iv, 454.) This volume equals its predecessor (reviewed in this journal, XVI. 854-855) in scholarly excellence and exceeds it in interest. The first half of the volume supplements its predecessor, which dealt with the Théâtre-Français and the Théâtre de l'Impératrice (Odéon). The first two chapters are devoted to the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, describing the buildings they occupied, their administration, their corps of singers and dancers, and their repertoires. A few paragraphs are given to the masked balls, oratorios, and concerts at the Opéra, and several pages to

the Opéra Italien or Opéra Buffa. The account of the audience at the Opéra and of its taste furnishes one of the most interesting passages in the volume. No less interesting are the two following chapters on the lesser theatres and on the occasional performances in celebration of anniversaries or victories. After describing briefly the numerous smaller and more popular playhouses which sprang up following the Revolution, the imperial measures for their regulation and restriction are described, and finally longer accounts are given of the Vaudeville, the Variétés, the Gaieté, and the Ambigu, which were permitted to survive after 1807. Some attention is given even to the various shows of more trivial and popular character from the Cirque Olympique down. For these chapters the author has employed much the same sources as in the earlier volume on the Théâtre-Français, but has had the added advantage of the recent monographs by Lecomte, especially *Napoléon et le Monde Dramatique*.

The absence of any considerable literature on the history of the French museums has made necessary much more extensive research in the archives, and consequently gives to the second part of the volume an air of greater originality. The chapter on the Louvre and the work of Denon, its curator, and the section on the Musée des Monuments Français and the unique services of its custodian Lenoir are of the most lively interest and genuine value. With abundance of piquant detail the story is told of Lenoir's efforts to preserve works of art from the vandals of the Revolution and later to convert his storerooms into a museum. In like manner the well-known fact of the amassing in the Louvre of the artistic rapine of Napoleon is developed into a lively narrative. There are also a few paragraphs on the Luxembourg and on Versailles. The final chapter deals mainly with David and Canova and their relations with Napoleon, but includes some account of the salons, and of the requisitions made by the emperor on the various artists to paint portraits or depict his victories.

Imperial Paris of a century ago, the faithful and efficient administrative system, and the penetrating genius and widespread activities of the great emperor will be better understood from reading these pages.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Correspondance du Duc d'Enghien, 1801-1804, et Documents sur son Enlèvement et sa Mort. Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par le Comte Boulay de la Meurthe. Tome IV. *Supplément suivi du Récit de la Campagne de 1796, par le Duc d'Enghien.* (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1913, pp. xxvi, 296.) This supplementary volume contains only incidental matter relating directly to the arrest and execution of the Duke of Enghien, but is made up mainly of family correspondence. Of the 120 new documents, eighty-two supplement the first volume, five the second, five the third, and the remaining twenty-eight form an entirely new chapter. (For reviews of the earlier vol-

umes, see this journal, X. 423, XIII. 905, and XVI. 165.) In addition there is published a *Journal de la Campagne de 1706* by the duke who recounts his own experiences in that campaign in Germany. This journal, which is divided into sixteen chapters, fills sixty-two pages. The introduction recites the history of the papers of the Condé family during and since the Revolution, so far as the editor has been able to trace them through their numerous transfers. There is not the slightest indication of the provenance of a single document published in this volume, but one is left to surmise that they are the result of further searching among the papers at Chantilly.

The volume adds very little that can be called new information, but it elaborates and confirms the material in the earlier volumes. Heretofore several of the most important letters have been known only from extracts published by Sevelinges in 1820 in the *Mémoires de la Maison de Condé*. At least fifteen such letters are here printed in full: notably Condé's letter of June 7, 1803, written three weeks after the renewal of war between England and France, with its prophetic warning: Enghien's reply of July 18, with its mingling of youthful impetuosity, injured innocence, and vigorous denial that he had rashly ventured on French soil: and old Condé's crotchety response of August 31, with its repeated caution, "songez à votre sûreté . . . ne vous endormez pas là-dessus". The most interesting new letter is Enghien's of August 22, 1802, to his father, the Duke of Bourbon, protesting that the relations between him and the Princess Charlotte de Rohan are not of a nature to prevent a dynastic marriage alliance: "Les craintes de mon grand-père sur cet objet, comme sur beaucoup d'autres, n'ont jamais eu de fondement. Je ne prendrai aucun grand engagement sans le consulter et sans avoir votre agrément." Still he prays that nothing will occur to interrupt his happy relations with the princess.

The new letters show no trace that Enghien was cognizant of the plots against Bonaparte; they show him anxious to enter the English, or preferably the Austrian army, to serve against Bonaparte. The strained relations between the young duke and his testy old grandfather reveal more clearly that distance from Condé as well as nearness to the Princess Charlotte was a consideration in fixing his residence at Ettenheim. The additional chapter shows that the duke had accumulated considerable savings from his English pension, and that he intended to constitute the Princess Charlotte his sole executrix and legatee. As the will itself could not be obtained the Duke of Bourbon took possession, and showed the princess no other generosity than to omit to collect some obligations due to the duke from her and her father. Some documents also relate to the reinterment of the duke's remains in 1816 and the erection of a monument in his honor.

The editor has again merited well of the republic of historical scholarship.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

A Curtailed Memoir of Incidents and Occurrences in the Life of John Surman Carden, Vice Admiral in the British Navy. Written by himself, 1850. Now first printed and edited by C. T. Atkinson, Fellow of Exeter College. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. xxvi, 319.) The contents of this volume consist of an introduction by the editor (24 pp.), the autobiography of Carden (288 pp.), and an appendix (28 pp.). The last-named consists chiefly of a selection from the official orders of Carden, statements of the size, crew, and weight and number of guns of the frigates *United States* and *Macedonian*, Carden's letter to the Admiralty giving an account of the loss of the *Macedonian*, some verses describing the fight between the two frigates, and the sentence of the court-martial that tried Carden for losing his ship. The volume has no index.

Carden will be remembered as the ill-fated captain of the British frigate *Macedonian*, who after a gallant fight surrendered his ship, October 25, 1812, to Captain Stephen Decatur, commander of the *United States*. His misfortune in losing his vessel and the displeasure of the secretary to the Admiralty which he incurred on his return to England after his imprisonment in America, practically closed his active career in the navy. For this reason doubtless he devotes only nine pages to the period from 1814 to 1858, the year of his death. The period 1812-1813, which is of interest to students of the history of the American navy, is covered in twenty-eight pages. Almost the whole of the memoir therefore is concerned with the period from 1771, the year of his birth, to 1811. His professional career began with service as an ensign in the British army in America, 1780-1782. In 1788 he entered the navy and subsequently saw service in the East Indies, Egypt, and Ireland, and on the Channel and Mediterranean stations, all of which he describes with considerable detail.

His account of the fight between the *Macedonian* and the *United States* does not greatly add to our knowledge derived from the official accounts of himself and Decatur. It is of interest however as the version of one of the commanders written, when an old man, thirty-six years after the event. Of greater novelty is Carden's narrative of his captivity in America, which contains excellent evidence of the well-known friendship of New England for the British.

The memoir was written when the author was seventy-eight. It is naïve and simple, abounding with occasional misspellings and errors of detail. It is not an intimate, human document, since it relates chiefly to professional matters. While not adding much to history nor contributing much to the settlement of any controversy, it is an interesting autobiography of a somewhat typical naval officer who lived at an important period in the history of the British navy and is well worth publishing.

C. O. PAULLIN.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by Gaillard Hunt, Chief

of the Division of Manuscripts. Volume XXI., 1781, July 23-December 31. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912, pp. 777-1236.)

During the period covered by this volume Congress continued its efforts toward the reform of the departments and other constructive legislation, to which it had been giving attention in the earlier part of the year. Such a measure was the ordinance for regulating the treasury and adjusting public accounts, adopted on September 11. On August 22 a committee (appointed July 20) reported a plan for the execution of the Articles of Confederation and for enlarging the powers of the federal government. Among the additions recommended by the committee were the power to lay embargoes in time of war, to appoint collectors and otherwise control the taxes imposed for the payment of requisitions, and to distrain upon the property of a state delinquent in its quota of men and money. The committee also declared a general council for the Confederation to be a necessary organ. In line with this committee's report Congress recommended to the states (November 2) to lay taxes for federal purposes separate from those laid for their own use, and to authorize the payment of the proceeds to the agents of the superintendent of finance, that is, to federal officers. The ordinance establishing a court of appeals in cases of capture, which was passed on July 18, was followed up, after much discussion, by a further ordinance (December 4) regulating the whole subject of captures on water. Although peace negotiations in Europe proceeded slowly much of the time of Congress was taken up with the consideration of foreign affairs. There were frequent memorials from the minister of France and conferences with him touching the relations between the two countries and also in regard to the peace adjustment. The minister particularly brought to the fore the financial obligations of the United States to France. On July 27 he presented a plan of a convention regulating the duties and powers of consuls, but it was not until January 9, 1782, that an ordinance governing the subject was passed. Another subject that occupied much of the attention of Congress during these months was the cessions by New York, Virginia, and Connecticut, with which were involved memorials from the Illinois, Wabash, Vandalia, and Indiana land companies. The Vermont question became acute in the early summer and continued to agitate Congress during the remainder of the year. The surrender of Yorktown on October 19 stirred Congress to some enthusiasm and enlarged its hope of peace, but otherwise affected but little its proceedings.

Two Men of Taunton: in the Course of Human Events, 1731-1829. By Ralph Davol. (Taunton, Massachusetts, Davol Publishing Company, 1912, pp. xiii, 407.) It is unfortunate that this book was not made either one thing or the other, for what we have is an amphibious curiosity, lying now on the solid land of biography and now in the unstable waters of romance. Though much of the narrative is based upon

reliable original material—the actual letters and diaries of the heroes—yet the author's fancy has been allowed to play with fact until we suspect the most impeccable data. We are treated to a great deal of rhetoric, many ethical judgments, and some mere sentimentality. In favor of a young man getting out and seeing the world the author says, "The acorn sprouting under the shade of the parent oak is spindling; the acorn carried by the blue jay to the open field grows stalwart." At times his figures become rather daring, as when he speaks of the Declaration of Independence as "severing the umbilical cord of the colonies". The work abounds in clever phrases, bright ideas, happy paradoxes, many poetical quotations, and much else which is rather out of place in serious biography. But these are superficial faults; the book is, in the absence of better lives of the two heroes, a very useful book, if not taken too seriously.

The two men of Taunton are Daniel Leonard, the loyalist, and Robert Treat Paine, the patriot. It was a quaint conceit to compare the two, but if Mr. Davol wished to serve a patriotic purpose, his comparison was ill chosen, for Leonard is ever the better man, more charming in person, more pleasing in spirit, more gallant in manner. He quite properly, when the time came, chose the Loyalist side, the aristocratic side, the conservative side, where his character and breeding naturally placed him. With many of his kind, he fled to England and there practised law until near the end of the war when he was made chief justice of Bermuda.

Paine was a very ordinary man, who could give an impromptu blessing at a dinner party, discuss theology over the tea-cups, serve as a pall-bearer, or be the moderator of a town-meeting, but had he not been merely the biggest man in a very small community, in the time of a great political upheaval, he would have cut a sorry figure in this big world. It is not uninteresting to trace his curiously varied career. After graduating at Harvard, he becomes an usher in a Latin school, then teaches a year at Lunenburg, and wearying of this goes to sea, making trips to Carolina, Europe, and Greenland. In three years he is again ashore, a minister at Shirley, Massachusetts, and then a chaplain on the Crown Point expedition. Tired of theology, he turns to law, and is admitted to the bar, where he begins to seek political office, rising through the offices of moderator, surveyor, member of the General Court, to the exalted position of delegate to the Continental Congress, where he was one of the surgeons, who performed that delicate operation to which we alluded above.

Aside from the biographies, there is a fairly good picture of colonial and revolutionary society. In the knowledge of the small things of life, the author shows good historical background, but in the matter of the essentials of the history he is not so well informed. He shows frequently an intolerance for the views of the Tories and the British government which is due to lack of knowledge.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Smuggling in the American Colonies at the Outbreak of the Revolution, with special Reference to the West Indies Trade. By William S. McClellan. [Williams College, David A. Wells Prize Essays, no. 3.] (New York, Moffat, Yard, and Company, 1912, pp. xx, 105.) Contestants for the Wells prize are not called upon to perform original research but are expected to show "evidences of careful reading" and a "thoughtful handling" of material readily accessible. Mr. McClellan, who was graduated in 1908, therefore deals with topics which are very familiar: the development of American trade, the light restrictions imposed by the Navigation Acts, the iniquities of the Molasses Act, the infringements permitted by conniving royal officials, the awakening occasioned by the Seven Years' War and the more rigid enforcement which came as a result. His account is conventional, clear, and well-balanced. On the other hand his conclusion that the political question, emerging from the economic, so far obscured it that "by the time of the Declaration of Independence the objections to the commercial system were forgotten" (p. 90) is erroneous. Serious errors are few, despite the fact that the description of the Board of Trade as "a sub-committee of the Privy Council" (p. 46) seems to uncover a multitude of sins. But distinct carelessness is shown in such statements as those concerning the "salaries" of customs officials (p. 83) and the sending of instructions to colonial governors (p. 82). The reading on which the paper is based is fairly wide but it is unfortunate that the material accessible did not include Channing's *History of the United States* and such recent and well-known monographs as Root's *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government* and Dickerson's *American Colonial Government*. It must also be said that a somewhat closer attention to the demands of technical scholarship in the matter of foot-notes, citations, and the critical use of such untrustworthy material as Sheffield's *Observations* might fairly be expected from the contestant for so considerable a prize. Nevertheless the writer's evident literary ability forces one to regret the necessary criticism.

H. C. B.

The Despatches of Molyneux Shuldham, Vice-Admiral of the Blue and Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Ships in North America, January-July, 1776. Edited by Robert Wilden Neeser. [Publications of the Naval History Society, vol. III.] (New York, Naval History Society, 1913, pp. xxxvi, 330.) These despatches, together with the "enclosures" or accompanying reports and correspondence, present an interesting picture, though much in outline, of the British operations about Boston and New York during the first half of the year 1776. As an original source they are of much value in showing the character of these naval operations as officially reviewed by the British sailor engaged in the task of coercing the revolting colonies. The conditions attending the blockade of the long coastline and the difficulties under which the

commanders struggled are brought out in much detail and particularly the extent to which their activities were hampered by the lack of food and supplies. In a despatch to the Admiralty, dated at Boston, March 8, 1776, in which the admiral announces the evacuation of Boston, he states that orders had been issued "for the Army to prepare to embark with all the dispatch possible, which the very distress'd Condition it is in for want of Provisions makes absolutely necessary, for 'till I gave Orders a few days ago for a Months Supply out of the Naval Stores, it had not then more than a sufficiency for Fourteen days, and except a Supply arrives very speedily for both services, the Consequence must be fatal". Neither at the time of the evacuation nor after the arrival at Halifax is any mention made of the large body of Loyalists who embarked with the fleet.

Admiral Shuldham followed Admiral Graves in command of the fleet on the North Atlantic Station and after a long and very stormy voyage arrived December 30, 1775, in Boston harbor. Nearly one-half of the present volume is devoted to the correspondence of the next three months. Then follows a period of three months of inactivity spent at anchor in Halifax harbor, with a short stay off Staten Island in New York harbor where the admiral was relieved of his command, late in July, by the arrival of Admiral Lord Howe. Many of the "enclosures" printed with the despatches, also relate to operations in Rhode Island and to the southward and even in the West Indies. One document which the student of United States naval history will find to be of much interest is the log-book of the 14-gun brig *Andrew Doria*, one of the Continental vessels that sailed from Philadelphia, January 4, 1776, in the squadron under Commodore Esek Hopkins. It probably is the earliest log-book of an American public armed vessel now in existence. Much the larger number of the documents included in the volume are taken from the series of "Admiral's Despatches" in the Public Record Office in London, transcripts of which are now in the Library of Congress. The "Secret Letters", the "Secretary's Letters to Commanding Officers", and the "Orders and Instructions" also have been drawn upon. The editor, in an eighteen-page introduction, has admirably summarized the "Despatches". Foot-notes appear sparingly. The index appears to have been prepared hurriedly as frequent omissions occur. The inclusion of unexplained marks appearing in the margins of the original documents seems to be useless and undesirable. The volume, published in an edition of three hundred copies, is finely printed on good paper and is an excellent example of what a society publication should be.

GEORGE FRANCIS DOW.

Lectures on the American Civil War delivered before the University of Oxford in Easter and Trinity Terms, 1912. By James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913, pp. xi, 206.) Before one passes judgment on this volume of published lectures, he would gladly summon a jury of the vicinage where they were delivered

and ascertain the impression which they made upon the commonalty. This resource failing, the reviewer can only record his own impressions, which are obviously not those of the Oxford student. The book gave rise to pleasant anticipations. Passing in review the great mass of material in his *History of the United States*, would the author see fit, after the lapse of years, to revise his judgment of men and events? To what extent would he accept the work which younger and lesser historians have accomplished since he wrote? And how would he distribute emphasis when time and space forced him to eliminate those varying shifts of opinions and incidents which in the larger work chain the interest of the reader as the great drama unfolds? The reviewer has laid down the book with a sense of disappointment. Mr. Rhodes is not at his best in this form of exposition. Forced to extricate himself from details, he has put in bald and almost dogmatic form conclusions which he erstwhile expressed with important qualifications. If he has read the newer literature on the antecedents of the war, he has paid scant attention to its effect upon his earlier conclusions.

In one sense the title given to these lectures is a misnomer. Fully one-half of the book is given up to the political antecedents of the war. As for the rest, the lecturer frankly announces his purpose to treat campaigns and battles briefly, and to dwell upon the salient characteristics of the conflict and their bearing on its issue. Even so, the treatment seems somewhat arbitrary. There are comments on Bull Run, Antietam, and Gettysburg, but only passing allusions to the campaigns in the West and a single reference to Sherman's march to the sea; there is an account of the Trent affair and some discussion of the attitude of England during the war, but little or nothing about the blockade. Indeed, the conspicuous defect of Mr. Rhodes's history appears again in these lectures. The economic factors are either wholly ignored or subordinated to the political events which they caused or conditioned. On the other hand, what the lecturer must have conveyed to his hearers was a sense of the immense stake for which North and South played, a vivid picture of the heroism of the combatants, and a moral enthusiasm for the unique personalities which the war produced in Lincoln and Lee. And every Oxford student must have been impressed with the qualities which Mr. Rhodes possesses in an eminent degree—candor and impartiality.

Recollections of the Civil War. With many original Diary Entries and Letters written from the Seat of War, and with annotated References. By Mason Whiting Tyler, late Lieut.-Colonel and Brevet-Colonel, 37th Reg't Mass. Vols. Edited by William S. Tyler. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. xvii, 379.) Colonel Tyler was one of that splendid body of young officers who served Massachusetts in the Army of the Potomac, and who by their efficiency, their high sense of duty, and their ardent patriotism, exercised an influence far out of proportion to their numbers and rank.

He came of sterling New England stock. Twenty Puritan ministers, one of them Jonathan Edwards, were among his ancestors, and his father was William Seymour Tyler, for over sixty years professor of Greek at Amherst College. The son graduated from Amherst in July, 1862, and, although in frail health, enlisted at once and was commissioned a second lieutenant by Governor Andrew. Except for a short detail of staff duty, he served throughout the war with the 37th Massachusetts, and at the close was in command of the regiment. He participated in all of the great battles of the Army of the Potomac from the first Fredericksburg to the capture of Petersburg and was with Sheridan at Winchester. After the war, he practised law with distinguished success in New York City.

Colonel Tyler had only partially completed the first draft of his manuscript at the time of his death. It ended with the arrival of the army before Petersburg; but the story of his service is continued by extracts from his letters and his diary.

So far as the book purports to be a history it does not invite special comment. But there can be no question of the real value and importance of the personal reminiscences and the picture they give of the inner life and struggles of the great army.

Perhaps the most instructive and certainly the most interesting chapter is the one devoted to a carefully written and detailed account of the battle for the Salient at Spottsylvania. The 37th Massachusetts held the apex of the Angle for twenty-two unbroken hours of desperate fighting and the reader of Colonel Tyler's very graphic description will not be inclined to challenge his high estimate of the service rendered by the regiment in that terrible struggle. A statement of the part taken and the position occupied by each of the brigades of the 6th corps engaged at the Angle is given in an appendix.

The chapters devoted to the letters and diary are accompanied by brief historical statements and notes which add to their interest. These are by the Reverend Calvin Stebbins, a classmate and life-long friend of Colonel Tyler.

For those who manage Spanish easily the *Memorias Inéditas del Licenciado Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada* (Brownsville, Texas, Tipografía de *El Porvenir*, pp. 111) should prove interesting and instructive reading in view of recent events in Mexico.

On the death of Juárez in 1872, Lerdo, then chief justice of the supreme court, became president of the republic. Four years later, as a result of a contested election, he was driven out of the country by General Porfirio Díaz. He died in New York, in 1889, where his memoirs were written—a disappointed old man without family and with few remaining friends.

Written in a discursive style, with many graphic touches that make one wish that the author had devoted himself to letters rather than to politics, with many blemishes in discussing his enemy's family affairs that

make one wish he had been more of a gentleman, the memoirs of Lerdo unconsciously disclose the enormous difficulties that await the man who endeavors to govern Mexico constitutionally. His description of the massacre of Vera Cruz, as the result of Díaz's telegram, *Mátalos en caliente*, is a model of rapid, vivid sketch work. But "Papá Lerdo's" manifest error was in attempting to apply European culture and administration to a country too recently emerged from despotism and anarchy to understand constitutional government.

E. L. C. MORSE.

COMMUNICATION

June 4, 1913.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Sir:

The reviewer of my book *The Origin of the English Constitution* in your April number, pp. 567-571, frankly admits at the close that he may at various places have mistaken my meaning. Will you allow me through the REVIEW to ask those who may be interested in the subject not to accept the interpretation of the book which is given by the reviewer but to go directly to the book itself for their knowledge of what it says? The reviewer's interpretation in general, and in most of the specific statements made, I cannot accept as an accurate representation of my ideas. The analysis of my arguments at the foot of p. 568 and on p. 570, for example, I wholly repudiate. I hope I should never make use of such arguments, nor have I ever entertained such ideas. Any one who will turn to n. 10, p. 21, which is cited, will see that it is clearly concerned with a single point only, and cannot fairly be used as a general confession; that it is quite the contrary indeed. But I do not care to go into detail. I merely wish to ask any who may be interested to get their ideas of the book from its own pages.

G. B. ADAMS.

NOTES AND NEWS

From June 18 to September 18 the address of the managing editor of this journal will be "North Edgecomb, Maine".

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The *Annual Report* for 1911 will be distributed to members in the autumn.

In the *Original Narratives* series, Messrs. Scribner have published this spring the *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts*. The volume of *Narratives of Indian and French Wars*, edited by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln, is in the press and will be issued in the autumn. The next volume in the series, to be brought out in the ensuing spring, is *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases*, edited by Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University.

PERSONAL

M. Paul Thureau-Dangin, since 1906 perpetual secretary of the French Academy, died at Cannes on February 24, 1913, in his seventy-sixth year. His attachment to the Catholic Church and to the liberal principles of the Orleans monarchy appears in nearly all of his works, especially the two major ones, *Histoire de la Monarchie de Juillet* (7 vols., 1886-1892), and *Histoire de la Renaissance du Catholicisme en Angleterre au XIX^e Siècle* (3 vols., 1899-1906).

Professor A. C. Coolidge will be Harvard Exchange Professor in Berlin during the first half of the coming academic year. Professor W. S. Ferguson will be professor of Greek in the American School of Classical Studies in Athens during the whole year 1913-1914, and Professor R. F. Scholz of the University of California will be lecturer in ancient history in Harvard University during its first half.

Dr. Bertha Haven Putnam has been appointed to an associate professorship in history in Mount Holyoke College.

Professor C. H. Hull is to be absent from Cornell University during the year 1913-1914 on sabbatical leave.

Professor John H. Latané of Washington and Lee University has been appointed professor of American history and head of the department of history in the Johns Hopkins University, and will begin his work in that institution in October.

Rev. Peter Guilday, hitherto of Louvain and Rome, has been made professor of ecclesiastical history at the Catholic University of America.

Professor Amos S. Hershey, of the University of Indiana, has been awarded one of the Kahn Travelling Fellowships and will spend the year 1913-1914 in Europe and the Orient.

Professor James W. Thompson, of the University of Chicago, has been advanced to the full rank of professor of history.

Professor Guy Stanton Ford has been appointed professor of history and dean of the Graduate School at the University of Minnesota.

Courses in history will be given in the summer session of Columbia University by Professors John S. Bassett of Smith College, W. L. Westermann of the University of Wisconsin, Albert B. White of the University of Minnesota, and George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University; in that of the Indiana State University by Professor F. A. Ogg of Simmons College and Professor C. B. Coleman of Butler College; by Professor David L. Patterson of Kansas in that of the University of Illinois; by Professor Carl Becker of Kansas in the University of Chicago; and by Professor Fred M. Fling of Nebraska in that of the University of Minnesota.

GENERAL

General reviews: H. Legband, *Geschichte der Litterarischen Kultur* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 4); P. Diepgen, *Geschichte der Medizin* (*ibid.*).

The *History Teacher's Magazine* for April includes the address, "The History Teacher's Opportunity", delivered in October, 1912, before the Vermont State Teachers' Association, by Professor Theodore F. Collier of Brown University; a paper by Miss Gertrude W. Carrick entitled the Place of Woman in School Histories, and one by Howard C. Hill on the Teaching of History by Type Studies, read before the Wisconsin State Teachers' Association in November, 1912. The May number contains an article by Professor Edward Channing on the Teaching of American History in Schools and Colleges, and a paper by Moses W. Ware on the American Colonies under the Whig Supremacy. In the June number Professor H. Morse Stephens discusses Courses in History in the Junior College, and Professor Arthur C. Cole gives an account of the attempt by the War Department in the decade before the Civil War to introduce the camel into the United States and adapt it to the needs of the army on the southwestern frontier. The *Magazine* presents in this issue a catalogue of dealers in illustrative historical material, such as photographs, lantern slides, historical post cards, etc., with an introduction by the compiler, Dr. Albert E. McKinley. The editor also prints the report on the Certification of High-School Teachers of History presented by Professor Frederic L. Paxson, as chairman of a committee, to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, at Omaha, May 8-10, 1913.

Ginn and Company have published *History as Past Ethics*, by P. V. N. Myers. The author holds to the view that "the development of conscience in the race is the ultimate goal of the historic movement", and therefore aims in this work "to gather and systematize the facts of the moral life of the race and relate them to the philosophic development of morals".

The Harvard University Press announces the following books as in preparation: *Essays on English Agrarian History in the Sixteenth Century*, by Professor Edwin F. Gay; *Studies in Anglo-Norman Institutions*, by Professor Charles H. Haskins; *The Search for Salvation in the Greek and Roman World*, by Professor Clifford H. Moore; *Judaism at the Beginning of the Christian Era*, by Professor G. F. Moore; and *A Bibliography of Municipal Government*, by Professor William B. Munro.

A new review is announced by George Sarton of Wondelgem-lez-Gand, Belgium, *Isis: Revue consacrée à l'Histoire de la Science*. The editor contributes the opening article on "L'Histoire de la Science". The subscription price will be thirty francs a volume.

Recent volumes of historical essays are: the fourth volume of Professor Usener's *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913); E. Rodocanachi's *Études et Fantaisies Historiques* (Paris, Hachette, 1913); the seventh volume of Professor Aulard's *Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française* (Paris, Alcan, 1913); the second volume of Dr. Cabanès's *Légendes et Curiosités de l'Histoire* (Paris, Michel, 1913); and the third volume of Professor A. Fournier's *Historische Studien und Skizzen* (Vienna, Tempsky, 1913).

The Société d'Économie Politique of Paris offers a prize of a gold medal and one thousand francs (Prix Mercet) for the best essay, in French, on "L'Évolution des Idées Protectionnistes depuis 1815". Manuscripts offered in competition should be put into the hands of M. Daniel Bellet, secretary of the Society, Maisons-Lafitte, 18, rue des Canus, Paris, by December 31, 1914. They should be sent with a pseudonymous designation and accompanied by a sealed envelope reproducing that designation and containing the name and address of the author.

The eighth edition of Professor E. R. A. Seligman's *Essays in Taxation* (Macmillan), which is enlarged to twenty-one chapters from the original thirteen, contains a brief history of the medieval and modern property tax.

The first volume of J. Combarieu's *Histoire de la Musique des Origines à la Mort de Beethoven* extends to the end of the sixteenth century (Paris, Colin, 1913, pp. x, 650). The second and concluding volume will appear toward the close of the present year. The volume is freely illustrated with musical texts.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Croce, *Von der Geschichte der Geschichte* (Internationale Monatsschrift, April); W. Mitscherlich, *Der Nationalismus und seine Wurzeln* (Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich, XXXVI. 3); W. E. Dodd, *History and Patriotism* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); F. Gehrke, *Änderungen in Wesen und Richtung des Handels* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXIX. 2); A. M. Wolfson, *Efficiency of the History Recitation* (Educational Review, May); A. Harnack, *Der*

Geist der Morgenländischen Kirche im Unterschied von der Abendländischen (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1913, VII.); C. M. Andrews, *International Congress of Historical Studies* (Nation, May 1).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: H. Blümner, *Bericht über die Litteratur zu den Griechischen Privataltertümern, 1901-1910* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXIII.); C. Lécivain, *Antiquités Latines: Publications Étrangères* (Revue Historique, May).

Those maps in Professor William R. Shepherd's *Historical Atlas* which illustrate ancient history have been brought together in a useful volume entitled *Atlas of Ancient History* (Holt, pp. 44). It is Professor Shepherd's present purpose to issue similar parts of the *Historical Atlas* dealing with medieval, modern, and American history.

The excellence of the ninety-six plates and the explanatory text accompanying them makes Dr. Joh. Hunger and Dr. Hans Lamer's *Altorientalische Kultur im Bilde* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, pp. 64) of interest and value to teachers and students of history.

Professor F. Charles Jean has published *Les Lettres de Hammurapi à Sin-Idinnam, Transcription, Traduction, et Commentaire, précédées d'une Étude sur Deux Caractères du Style Assyro-Babylonienne* (Paris, Gabalda, 1913, pp. x, 280). A volume of *Politisch-Religiöse Texte der Sargonidenzeit* has been published by E. G. Klauber (Leipzig, Pfeiffer, 1913) with some 80 plates.

Karanog: the Meroitic Inscriptions of Shablul and Karanog, by F. L. Griffith, reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford, makes public the results of studies of inscriptions in two cemeteries in Lower Nubia and furnishes a valuable basis for further study in this region.

Professor Beloch is bringing out a thoroughly revised edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* (Strassburg, Trübner). The first volume, which has recently appeared, deals with the period prior to the Persian wars.

Themis: a Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion, by Miss Jane Ellen Harrison, with an excursus on ritual forms preserved in Greek tragedy by Gilbert Murray, and a chapter on the origin of the Olympic games by F. R. Cornford (Putnam) is deserving of attention from students of Greek history.

An interesting study, equipped with notes and a bibliography, is that of Dr. George M. Calhoun, on *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation*, which is *Bulletin* no. 262 of the University of Texas.

Professor Bouché-Leclercq of the Sorbonne has published a *Histoire des Séleucides, 329-64* (Paris, Leroux, 1913, pp. iv, 485).

Dr. Matthias Gelzer, privatdozent in the University of Freiburg, has made an interesting contribution to the political, institutional, and social history of the Roman Republic in *Die Nobilität der Römischen Republik* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912, pp. iv, 120).

Professor James S. Reid has published through the Cambridge University Press *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Naville, *La XI^e Dynastie*, II. (Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, L. 1); L. Wenger, *Ergebnisse der Papyruskunde für Rechtsvergleichung und Rechtsgeschichte* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 4); A. Lange, *Les Tyrans en Grèce* (Revue des Études Historiques, March); L. Homo, *L'Empereur Gallien et la Crise de l'Empire Romain au III^e Siècle*, I. (Revue Historique, March); L. B. Register, *Notes on the History of Commerce and Commercial Law* (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, May).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: F. Cabrol, *Chronique d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April).

Three different phases of the history of religion in the second and third centuries are treated in J. Morel's *Essai sur la Foi et les Sentiments des Martyrs Chrétiens au II^e Siècle, 155-250* (Alençon, Coueslant, 1912, pp. xiv, 116); in Eugène de Faye's *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme aux II^e et III^e Siècles* (Paris, Leroux, 1913, pp. 484), published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*; and in the third edition of Professor Franz Cumont's *Les Mystères de Mithra* (Paris, Lamartin, 1913), which is thoroughly revised, and contains a description of recently discovered monuments as a supplement to his two volumes of *Textes et Monuments Figurés aux Mystères de Mithra*.

The well-known Bollandist scholar, Father H. Delehaye, is the author of *Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs* (Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1912, pp. viii, 504; reviewed by P. Allard, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, April).

Professor J. Tixeront has published a *Histoire des Dogmes* (3 vols., Paris, Gabalda, 1912-1913; reviewed by F. Cabrol, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, April) which extends to the time of Charles the Great.

Byzantine Churches in Constantinople, their History and Architecture, by Alexander van Milligen, assisted by Ramsay Traquair, W. S. George, and A. E. Henderson (London, Macmillan, 1912), is attractively illustrated and presents much interesting information.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Emanuelli, *La Data della Morte di Cristo dal Punto di Vista Astronomico* [April 7, 30] (*Rassegna Contemporanea*, March 25); G. Costa, *La Politica Religiosa di Costantino il Grande* (*ibid.*); C. A. Santucci, *L'Editto di Milano specialmente nei*

Rivardi Giuridici (Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie, March 31); D. Donatien de Bruyne, *Un Nouveau Document sur les Origines de la Vulgate* (Revue Biblique Internationale, January).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

With the appearance last fall of *Das Mittelalter* by Drs. Gerhard Ficker and Heinrich Hermelink, and an index volume by W. Dell, the *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende*, edited and partly written by Professor Gustav Krüger of Giessen, is now complete. A supplementary volume that was to have contained an extensive history of the writing of church history has been indefinitely delayed by the death of Gerhard Loeschke of Göttingen. The book, as it now stands, consists of three volumes of handy size; at present its bibliographies come nearer than any other publication of the kind to bringing one down to date (to near the fore part of 1912 in one volume) in this field.

Two recent Byzantine studies are *Die Kirchliche Gesetzgebung des Kaisers Justinian I.* by Alivisatos (Berlin, Trowitzsch, 1913), and *Organisation Militaire de l'Égypte Byzantine* by Jean Maspero (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 157), published as number 201 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

A new history of Mohammedanism, of distinct merit, is the *Histoire des Arabes*, of which C. Huart has published the first volume (Paris, Geuthner, 1912, pp. iv, 381).

Hohlfeld's *Stadtrechnungen als Historische Quellen* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1913) discusses town accounts as a source for the study of the close of the Middle Ages.

The second volume of R. Wolkan's *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini* contains his letters as priest and bishop of Trent from 1447 to 1450. It is published in the *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* (Vienna, Hölder, 1912, pp. xv, 292). Another recent volume on Pius II. is G. B. Picotti's *La Dieta di Mantova e la Politica dei Veneziani* (Venice, 1912, pp. 558).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Kehr, *Nachträge zu den Papsturkunden Italiens*, VI., VII. (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 4); T. Hirschfeld, *Das Gerichtswesen der Stadt Rom vom 8. bis 12. Jahrhundert wesentlich nach Stadtrömischen Urkunden* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV, 3); E. Caspar, *Studien zum Register Gregors VII.* (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXXVIII, 1); H. Kalbfuss, *Urkunden und Regesten zur Reichsgeschichte Oberitaliens*, II. (Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XV, 2); J. Hofer, *Biographische Studien über Wilhelm von Ockham O. F. M.* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, April); R. Scholz, *Eine ungedruckte Schilderung der Kurie aus d. J. 1438* (Archiv für Kultur-

geschichte, X. 4); H. Prutz, *Pius II. Rüstungen zum Türkenkrieg und die Societas Jesu des Flandrers Gerhard des Champs, 1459-1466* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 4).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Story of the Renaissance by William Henry Hudson (New York, Cassell) is a good condensation, popular in the best sense of the term.

The co-operative *Histoire de l'Art* edited by André Michel is brought to the close of the Renaissance in the ninth volume (Paris, Colin, 1912, pp. 516), which deals with the Renaissance art of Germany and the northern countries.

New volumes have appeared in three histories of the Jesuits in different countries. The second volume of H. Fouquieray's *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France* (Paris, Picard, 1913, pp. viii, 738) deals with the interesting period from 1575 to 1604. The second volume of Bernhard Duhr's *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1913, pp. xxviii, 1490) is in two parts and covers the first half of the seventeenth century. Father Pablo Pastells furnishes the opening volume of a *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay* (Madrid, Pérez de Velasco, 1912, pp. 593).

The pontificates of Julius III., Marcellus II., and Paul IV., 1550-1559, are the subject of the sixth volume of Ludwig von Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1913, pp. xl, 724). A brief study of *Pius V. und die Deutschen Katholiken* has been published by O. Braunsberger (*ibid.*, Herder, 1912, pp. 124).

To the earlier volumes on Cardinal de La Valette, and on Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the Vicomte de Noailles has added one on *Le Maréchal de Guébriant* (Paris, Perrin, 1912, pp. ix, 553) in his *Épisodes de la Guerre de Trente Ans*.

M. H. Roujon of the French Academy is the president, and M. D. Mornet, general secretary, of the newly formed Société du Dix-huitième Siècle. The first quarterly number of its elegantly printed organ, *Revue du Dix-huitième Siècle*, bears date of January and is published by Hachette of Paris. M. André Morize is the author of the opening article, on *Le "Candide" de Voltaire*. Most of the articles deal with social, literary, and artistic matters, in which the historical interest is secondary, but the review promises not to be without interest to the historian. The annual subscription is sixteen francs.

There are several recent studies in the international relations during the Napoleonic period which are worthy of note. Comte de Mayol de Lupé writes on *La Captivité de Pie VII.* (Paris, Émile Paul, 1912, pp. xv, 707). Édouard Gachot is the author of *1809; Napoléon en Allemagne* (Paris, Plon, 1913, pp. 449). The years 1809 to 1812 are dealt with in the second volume of D. W. R. de Villa-Urrutia's *Relaciones entre*

España y Inglaterra durante la Guerra della Independencia (Madrid, Beltrán, 1912). Professor A. Fournier has published important papers on *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress* (Vienna, Tempsky, 1913).

Dr. Clarence Perkins of the Ohio State University has brought out *An Outline for the History of Europe since 1815* (pp. 41) designed primarily to provide a "scheme of organization" for the student's reading.

Austrian and German relations to the Eastern question at two different epochs in the last century are considered in E. Molden's *Die Orientpolitik des Fürsten Metternich, 1820-1833* (Vienna, Hölzel, 1913), and in M. Fliegenschmidt's *Deutschlands Orientpolitik im Ersten Reichsjahrzehnt, 1870-1880* (Berlin, Puttkammer and Mühlbrecht, 1913).

Three recent volumes on the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 may be selected for special mention. H. Giehrl has based his *Weissenburg und Wörth* (2 vols., Berlin, Mittler, 1913) upon personal studies of the battlefields. The antecedents of Sedan are described in Alfred Duquet's *Chalons et Beaumont* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1912, pp. 514). Lieut.-Col. Grange has written on *L'Aile Droite Prussienne à Rezonville* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1912, pp. 373).

The relations of France and Germany during the past generation are discussed by R. Pinon in *France et Allemagne, 1870-1913* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. viii, 307); by P. Albin in *La Paix Armée: l'Allemagne et la France en Europe, 1885-1894* (Paris, Alcan, 1913); and by the late J. Novicov in *L'Alsace-Lorraine: Obstacle à l'Expansion Allemande* (Paris, Alcan, 1913, pp. vi, 392). The Polish question is treated by Eugène Starczewski in *L'Europe et la Pologne* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. ix, 367).

Cinquante Ans d'Histoire: l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1860-1910, is the work of M. N. Leven, the president of the alliance, who has made liberal use of the extensive materials in its archives. The first volume (Paris, Alcan, 1912, pp. 546) is practically a history of the Jewish question in the nineteenth century and embodies much information that is either new or not easily accessible (reviewed by L. Cohen, *La Révolution Française*, December, 1912, p. 562; and by E. Driault, *Revue Historique*, November, 1912, p. 359).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Troeltsch, *Renaissance und Reformation* (Historische Zeitschrift, CX. 3); E. Nys, *Traités de Subside et Troupes Auxiliaires dans l'Ancien Droit, Politique des Subsides, Emprunts Émis au Profit d'États Belligérants sur les Marchés Neutres* (Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée, XLV. 2); M. Escoffier, *Un Procédé Diplomatique du Prince de Talleyrand: Affaires de Pologne, 1814* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, March); L. Cappelletti, *La Francia e l'Italia nella Guerra di 1870* (Rassegna Contemporanea, February 25); P. Albin, *L'Impératrice Frédéric à Paris, Février, 1891* (Revue de Paris, April 1); G. Jary, *Les Accords Franco-Espagnols de 1902 à 1912* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, II., III. (Revue Historique, March, May).

J. W. Jeudwine has attempted with some success to tell the story of the British islands as a whole in *The First Twelve Centuries of British Story* (London, Longmans, 1912).

British Borough Charters, 1042-1216, edited by Adolphus Ballard, comes from the Cambridge University Press. The volume not only contains over 300 charters but also has a valuable introductory essay on them.

Étienne Martin's *Histoire Financière et Économique de l'Angleterre, 1066-1902* (Paris, Alcan, 1912, 2 vols.) is not a work of scholarly research, but a good superficial account, with some comparisons with the corresponding developments in France.

Volume I. of *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066 to 1154*, by H. W. C. Davis assisted by R. J. Whitwell (Oxford University Press), covers the period from 1066 to 1100.

A convenient list of bishops' registers, English, Scottish, or Irish, published or in course of publication in any series, is printed in a recent circular of the Canterbury and York Society.

A study of the history of the Angevin empire entitled *The Loss of Normandy, 1189-1204*, by F. M. Powicke, has been added to the *Manchester University Publications*.

The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346, translated with notes by Sir Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, MacLehose and Sons), contains also a discussion of the authorship of the chronicle by Rev. Dr. James Wilson.

The circumstances and the later importance of the battle of Bannockburn are entertainingly and clearly set forth by Mr. W. M. Mackenzie in *The Battle of Bannockburn: a Study in Mediaeval Warfare* (Glasgow, MacLehose, 1913, pp. 114).

Volume III. of *A History of England from the Earliest Times to the present Day*, edited by Professor C. W. C. Oman, is *England in the Later Middle Ages, 1272 to 1485*, by Kenneth H. Vickers (Putnam).

Among the spring books of the Oxford University Press is *The King's Council in the Middle Ages*, by Professor J. F. Baldwin of Vassar College.

In Messrs. Methuen's antiquarian series Dr. J. C. Cox has just issued a study of *Old Churchwardens' Accounts*, beginning with those still preserved from the fourteenth century, and forming a parallel to his book already published on the parish registers.

Messrs. Macmillan are soon to publish the fourth volume of Dr. James Gairdner's *Lollardy and the English Reformation*, which has been completed since that author's death by Dr. William Hunt.

The Rise and Fall of the High Commission, by Professor R. G. Usher of Washington University, St. Louis, is published by the Oxford University Press this spring.

It is expected that the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records will before long be enabled to resume, at 1603, the printing of the Registers of the Privy Council.

The theses of Miss V. M. Shillington on the medieval period, and of A. B. Wallis Chapman on the modern period are published jointly under the title of *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal* (New York, Dutton, 1912, pp. xxxii, 344).

The latest issue of the *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* contains a transcription of "The Fifth-Monarchy Manifesto of 1654" and a sketch of the life of Dr. Peter Chamberlin, "Pastor, Propagandist, and Patenter", 1601-1683.

Mr. Robert Dunlop is the editor of two volumes of important documents dealing with the government of Ireland between 1651 and 1659, entitled *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, and published as a *Manchester University Publication*.

Sir Roger L'Estrange, by George Kitchin (Dutton), is the latest important addition to the history of the English press in the seventeenth century.

Volume II. of Mr. H. W. Clark's *History of English Nonconformity* (Chapman and Hall) covers the period from 1660 to the close of the nineteenth century.

Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England with the North of Europe, edited by Professor C. H. Firth, contains a list of English diplomatic representatives and agents in Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, and of those countries in England, 1689-1762, contributed by J. F. Chance (Oxford, Blackwell).

The Life and Correspondence of Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, by Philip C. Yorke, a work in six volumes, from the Cambridge University Press, is based largely on the Hardwicke and Newcastle manuscripts in the British Museum.

It is understood that the second and concluding volume of Sir George Trevelyan's *George III. and Charles Fox*, the end of his series relating to the American Revolution, may be expected to appear in the autumn of 1914.

Commodore Sir John Hayes: his Voyage and Life, by Ida Lee, published by Messrs. Longmans, is an excellent biography of a servant of the East India Company whose name is but little known.

No. XIX. of the *Manchester University Publications*, historical series, is to be *The Naval Mutinies of 1797*, by Conrad Gill.

The Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1805-1840, edited by his son, Hon. Rollo Russell, has been announced by Fisher Unwin.

A year ago the Lords of the Admiralty appointed a committee to make a special historical study of the tactics of Trafalgar. The committee, consisting of Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, Admiral Sir Reginald Custance, and Professor Charles H. Firth, has its report nearly ready.

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *England in 1815 as seen by a Young Boston Merchant: being the Reflections and Comments of Joseph Ballard on a Trip through Great Britain in the Year of Waterloo*. The writer of these reflections was a young member of an old Boston family. His record of the visit, now first published, contains clear and accurate descriptions and naïve comments.

Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan has in press a biography of John Bright.

Messrs. Blackwood have just published a *Life of Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall, K. C. B., G. C. I. E.*, a singularly interesting personality, who gave fifty-five years of service to the government of India, was home secretary, ruler of the Northwest Provinces and Oudh, foreign secretary, and for twenty-three years a member of the Council for India, and was also distinguished in literature. The biography is written by Sir Mortimer Durand, formerly British ambassador in Washington, but long connected with the Indian government.

M. Beer has written a *Geschichte des Sozialismus in England* (Stuttgart, Dietz, 1913).

British Social Politics, by Professor Carlton Hayes, of Columbia University, deals with the social changes of the last few years in Great Britain.

British documentary publications: *Calendar of the Fine Rolls*, vol. III., Edward II., 1319-1327; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, vol. XIII., 1364-1367, ed. R. F. Isaacson; XIV., 1367-1370; *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan*, vol. I., ed. A. B. Hinds.

Other documentary publications: *Publications of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. XX., *Registers of the French Churches of Bristol, Stonchouse, and Plymouth*, ed. Charles E. Lart.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. H. Stevenson, *Senlac and the Malfossé* (*English Historical Review*, April); G. B. Adams, *Procedure in the Feudal Curia Regis* (*Columbia Law Review*, April); Hilary Jenkinson, *William Cade, a Financier of the Twelfth Century* (*English Historical Review*, April); Theodora Keith, *The Influence of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland on the Economic Development of Scotland before 1707* (*Scottish Historical Review*, April); C. E. Fryer, *The Numerical Decline of Dissent in England previous to the Industrial Revolution* (*American Journal of Theology*, April); E. R. Turner, *The*

Peerage Bill of 1719 (English Historical Review); C. H. McIlwain, *The Tenure of English Judges* (Political Science Review, May).

FRANCE

General reviews: L. Halphen, *Histoire de France: Époques Franque et des Capétiens Directs* (Revue Historique, March); P. Caron, *Publications Récentes sur l'Histoire Militaire de la Révolution* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, January); L. Villat, *La Corse Napoléonienne* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); R. Lévy, *Histoire Intérieure des Deux Empires*, II. (*ibid.*, March); H. Hauser, *Histoire de France: Époque Moderne* (Revue Historique, May).

The publishers, Hachette of Paris, have announced the publication in 18 volumes of an illustrated edition of Lavissee's *Histoire de France*. The fiftieth anniversary of Professor Lavissee's entrance as a scholar in the Superior Normal School has recently been celebrated by his friends and pupils.

In the series *Histoire Générale de Paris*, F. G. de Pachtère has published *Paris à l'Époque Gallo-Romaine* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1912, pp. xlii, 192). The volume is largely based on the notes and plans made by T. Vacquer, formerly of the Carnavalet museum, who watched all the excavations during the rebuilding of Paris from 1844 to 1894.

M. Pierre Caron, in conjunction with Eugène Saulnier, has inaugurated another bibliographical undertaking, a *Bibliographie des Travaux Publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France de 1500 à 1789*, which will supplement his earlier publications.

Professor Gustave Lanson's *Manuel Bibliographique de la Littérature Française Moderne, 1500-1900* (4 vols., Paris, Hachette), besides its general usefulness to the historian, contains a section devoted to historical writers.

The two centuries from 1515 to 1715 are covered in the fifth volume of the *Histoire de Bretagne* by La Borderie and Pocquet. The sixth volume, which will carry the account to 1789 and contain an index, will appear in the autumn. A volume on *La Bretagne pendant la Révolution* has been published by R. Kerviler (Rennes, Simon, 1912, pp. 267).

Rev. B. S. Berrington has given to English readers a translation of L. Penning's *Life and Times of Calvin* which summarizes recent research on this subject.

In the first of two volumes on *Les Origines Politiques des Guerres de Religion*, Lucien Romier deals with *Henri II. et l'Italie, 1547-1555* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. ix, 578).

The administration of a province under Louis XIV. is the subject of a monograph by Albert Croquez on *La Flandre Wallonne et le Pays de l'Intendance de Lille sous Louis XIV.* (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. ix,

452). R. V. C. has written an *Essai sur la Population des Taillabilités du Dauphiné d'après les Mémoires des Intendants, 1608-1762* (Valence, Céas, 1912, pp. xvi, 498). G. Vanel's *Une Grande Ville aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles* (Caen, Jouan, 1912, pp. 400) is the third volume of a series on Caen. *Les Remontrances et Arrêts du Parlement de Provence, 1715-1790*, has been edited by P. A. Robert (Paris, Rousseau, 1912, pp. 692).

E. Laloy of the National Library has written *Enigmes du Grand Siècle: le Masque de Fer, Jacques Stuart de la Cloche, l'Abbé Prignani, Roux de Marsilly* (Paris, Le Soudier, 1913, pp. 312) in which he adduces proofs that the famous masked prisoner was a person unknown, probably a priest, who was arrested at Dunkirk in 1669 and imprisoned at Pignerol under the name of Eustache Dager. The author finds that Matthioly, who was long considered the man of the iron mask, was not arrested until 1679 and died at Sainte-Marguerite in April, 1694. The proof of the death in 1678 or 1679 of the Abbé Prignani refutes the hypothesis of Mgr. Barnes. The mysterious Jacques Stuart de la Cloche is proven an impostor who died in 1669. Eighty pages are devoted to Roux de Marsilly, a protestant who plotted the assassination of Louis XIV. and was executed in 1669, and Mr. Andrew Lang's suggestion that Roux's valet Martin might have been the masked prisoner is rejected. A chapter is devoted to a review of the literature of the subject.

Mgr. A. Baudrillart and M. Léon Lecestre are the editors of the *Lettres du Duc de Bourgogne au Roi d'Espagne, Philippe V., et à la Reine*, of which the first volume, extending from 1701 to 1708, has just been published by the Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, Renouard, 1912, pp. 393).

The financial administration under Louis XVI. receives some attention in Fengler's *Die Wirtschaftspolitik Turgots und seiner Zeitgenossen im Lichte der Wirtschaft des Ancien Régime* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1913), and in the Marquis de Ségur's *Au Couchant de la Monarchie: Louis XVI. et Necker, 1776-1781* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1913).

The thesis of Dr. Pierre Ladoué is an excellent and elaborate bibliography of 463 items by *Les Panégyristes de Louis XVI. et de Marie Antoinette* (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. xxvii, 214). There is a twenty-page introduction and an index. The arrangement is mainly by years.

L'Oeuvre Législative de la Révolution is a working manual compiled by L. Cahen and R. Guyot (Paris, Alcan, 1913, pp. iii, 486). Under four headings, political and constitutional, administrative, military and diplomatic, and economic and social, there are arranged in chronological order the principal laws enacted during the Revolution. In case of the more extended acts, unimportant portions are omitted. The volume will be a great convenience to every student of the Revolution.

Recent issues of the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française* are the second volume of *Cahiers*

de Doléances des Bailliages des Généralités de Metz et de Nancy, ed. Ch. Étienne; the fourth volume of the *Cahiers de Doléances de la Sénéchaussée de Rennes*, ed. H. Sée and A. Lesort, which completes its series with a general index and a bibliography; and the second and concluding volume of *Documents Relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux dans le Département de la Gironde*, edited by Professors Marion, Benzacar, and Caudrillier, which contains an index (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 442, 571, 646).

Several notable biographies of revolutionary personages have recently appeared. General de Piépape is the author of a *Histoire des Princes de Condé au XVIII^e Siècle: la Fin d'une Race, les Trois Derniers Condé* (Paris, Plon, 1913, pp. iv, 529); A. Chuquet, of *Le Général Dagobert* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1912, pp. 472); Vicomte de Brachet, of *Le Conventionnel J. B. LeCarpentier* (Paris, Perrin, 1912, pp. xv, 399); and J. Lhomer, of *Un Homme Politique Lorrain: François de Neufchâteau* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1913, pp. x, 233).

Miss I. A. Taylor has given to English readers an excellent account of the rising in La Vendée in 1793 in *The Tragedy of an Army: La Vendée in 1793* (Hutchinson).

The twenty-second volume of Aulard's *Recueil des Actes du Comité du Salut Public* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 868) covers the period from April 12 to May 9, 1795.

M. Frédéric Masson has published the tenth volume of *Napoléon et sa Famille* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1913) dealing with the years 1814 and 1815. The same author has also issued *Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1912, pp. xv, 504). Lieutenant E. Peyrou has made a study of an episode in the early life of Bonaparte in his *Expédition de Sardaigne: le Lieutenant-Colonel Bonaparte à la Maddalena, 1792-1793* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1912, pp. 152).

Under the title *The French Revolution in 1848 in its Economic Aspect* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, two vols.) we have for college and other use Louis Blanc's *Organisation du Travail*, reprinted from the fifth edition of 1848, Émile Thomas's *Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux*, published in that same year, and a critical and historical introduction prepared by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott.

La Fusion Monarchique, 1848-1873, by C. N. Desjoyeaux (Paris, Plon, 1913, pp. 468), deals with the relations between the Legitimist and Orleanist branches of the Bourbon family and their respective followings.

Republican France, 1870-1912: her Presidents, Statesmen, Policy, Vicissitudes, and Social Life, by Ernest Alfred Vizetelly (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company), is a work by an Englishman who displays a remarkable understanding of French institutions and French life.

The presidency of Carnot is the subject of the third volume of Lieut.-Col. Simond's *Histoire de la Troisième République* (Paris, Charles-

Lavauzelle, 1913, pp. 470). Léon Jacques has attempted in *Les Partis Politiques sous la Troisième République* (Paris, Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1913, pp. 541) to give for young voters an impartial account of the existing parties. Armand Charpentier gives the recent history of one of the parties in *Le Parti Radical et Radical Socialiste à Travers ses Congrès, 1901-1911* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1912).

A considerable group of interesting volumes has recently appeared relating to Algeria. The most important is E. Le Marchand's *L'Europe et la Conquête d'Alger* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. viii, 340), which is based upon new materials from the French state archives. G. Esquer's essay on *Les Débuts de l'Administration Civile à Alger* (Algiers, Jourdan, 1912, pp. 40) is an off-print from the *Revue Africaine*. The same publisher and author have issued a valuable guide to *Les Archives Algériennes et les Sources de l'Histoire de la Conquête* (1912, pp. 63). Professor Georges Yver of the University of Algiers has published the *Correspondance du Capitaine Daumas, Consul à Mascara, 1837-1839* (Algiers, Jourdan, 1912, pp. xxviii, 688). J. Tournier has written *Le Cardinal Lavergne et son Action Politique, 1863-1892* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. x, 416).

There has been founded at Paris a Société pour l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, with M. Alfred Martineau, president, and MM. Henri Froidevaux and Charles Mourey, secretaries. The society has undertaken a quarterly *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, and a series of publications of which the first volume is LaCourbe's *Premier Voyage fait à la Côte d'Afrique en 1685*, edited by P. Cultru. Both the review and the publications will be handled by M. Henri Champion of Paris. The subscription will be twenty-five francs a year. The society plans to publish an historical atlas of the French colonies. As the society includes in the scope of its researches and publications the former as well as the present colonies of France, its work will have a distinct interest for students of American history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Mauriou, *La Formation de la Seine-Inférieure*, I., II. (*Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*, November, January); R. de Fréville, *Étude sur l'Organisation Judiciaire en Normandie aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles* (*ibid.*, November); V. L. Bourilly, *Antonio Roncin et la Politique Orientale de François I^{er}*, I. (*Revue Historique*, May); R. Picard, *Les Mutations des Monnaies et la Doctrine Économique en France, du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution* (*Revue d'Histoire des Doctrines Économiques et Sociales*, V. 4); E. Rott, *Richelieu et l'Annexion projetée de Genève, 1631-1632*, I., II. (*Revue Historique*, March, May); G. del Vecchio, *Ueber einige Grundgedanken der Politik Rousseau's* (*Archiv für Rechts- und Wirtschaftsphilosophie*, VI. 1); Comte d'Haussonville, *Madame de Staël et M. Necker d'après leur Correspondance inédite*, I.-IV. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 15, March 1, March 15, April 1); A. Aulard, *La Nuit du 4 Août* (*La Révolution Française*, March); A. Calmette, *Les Car-*

bonari en France sous la Restauration, I., II. (La Révolution de 1848, January, March); G. Weill, *Les Saint-Simoniens sous Napoléon III*. (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May).

ITALY AND SPAIN

General reviews: C. Rinaudo, *Rivoluzione Francese, 1789-1815: Risorgimento Italiano, 1815-1912: Mazziniana; Garibaldiana* (Rivista Storica Italiana, January); G. Bourgin, *Histoire d'Italie, Période du Risorgimento, 1789-1870* (Revue Historique, March).

The second, third, and fourth volumes of the *Corpus Statutorum Italicorum* have appeared. E. Anderloni has edited the first volume of *Statuti dei Laghi di Como e di Lugano*; G. degli Azzi, the first volume of the *Statuti di Perugia*; and E. Rinaldi, the *Statuti di Forlì, 1359-1373* (Rome, Loescher, 1913).

A. Crivellucci has edited the *Historia Romana* of Landulfus Sagax for the *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* (Rome, Loescher, 1913, 2 vols.).

The administration of the Italian communes is treated in Franchini's *Saggio di Ricerche per l'Istituto del Podestà nei Comuni Medievali* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1913).

Baron A. Manno has contributed the *Bibliografia Storica degli Stati della Monarchia di Savoia* as the ninth volume of the *Bibliografia Storica Italiana* (Turin, Bocca, 1913, pp. 540).

The first volume of the *Fonti di Storia Fiorentina* contains *Le Carte del Monastero di S. Maria in Firenze, Badia*, edited by L. Schiaparelli (Rome, Loescher, 1913).

Biagio Pace of Palermo has contributed to the *Archivio Storico Siciliano* for 1912 an account of Sicily from the fifth to the ninth centuries, entitled *I Barbari e i Bizantini in Sicilia*. The first chapter deals with the Vandals, the second with the Goths, and the remainder with the Byzantines, closing with an account of the Saracen conquest in the ninth century. The author has brought together much valuable new material.

The unfortunate illegitimate son of Frederick II., Enzo, king of Sardinia, is the subject of two recent monographs: A. Messeri, *Re Enzo* (Genoa, Formigginì, 1912, pp. 78), and M. de Szombathely, *Re Enzo nella Storia e nella Leggenda* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1912, pp. 133).

The years 1836 and 1837 are the period included in the twelfth and thirteenth volumes of the *Edizione Nazionale* of Mazzini's *Scritti editi ed inediti* (Imola, Galeati, 1912). Giuseppe Calabrò has written a critical study of *La Dottrina Religioso-Sociale nelle Opere di Giuseppe Mazzini* (Palermo, Reber, 1912).

Don José Fernández Montaña has written *Felipe II, el Prudente, Rey de España, en Relación con Artes y Artistas, con Ciencias y Sabios* (Madrid, Imp. de San Francisco de Sales, 1912, pp. 506).

Professor Ernst Daenell of the University of Kiel has contributed to the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* an enlightening study of the colonization and colonial policy of Spain. The study bears the title "Kolonisation und Kolonialpolitik der Spanier, vornehmlich in Nordamerika".

The first English life of Queen Isabella II. of Spain has come from the pen of Mr. Francis Gribble, under the title *The Tragedy of Isabella II.* (Chapman and Hall).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: E. A. Goldsilber, *Courrier Allemand*, III. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April).

Among recent works on German institutions and conditions in the Middle Ages are: Mayer-Homberg's *Die Fränkischen Volksrechte im Mittelalter* (vol. I., Weimar, Böhlau, 1913); Glitsch's *Untersuchungen zur Mittelalterlichen Vogtgerichtsbarkeit* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1913); Schwietering's *Zur Geschichte vom Speer und Schwert im 12. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, Gräfe and Sillem, 1913); Krammer's *Das Kurfürstenkolleg von seinen Anfängen bis zum Zusammenschluss im Renser Kurverein des Jahres 1338* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1913); Hans Hirsch's *Die Klosterimmunität seit dem Investiturstreit* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1913); Hans Spangenberg's *Vom Lehnstaat zum Ständestaat: ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Landständischen Verfassung* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1912, pp. xii, 207).

Dr. Andreas Walther, privatdozent in the University of Berlin, is the author of a very interesting discussion of the antecedents of the schemes for imperial reform under Maximilian I., *Die Ursprünge der Deutschen Behörden-Organisation im Zeitalter Maximilians I.* (Berlin, Kohlhammer, 1913, pp. 92). He emphasizes the importance of native in contrast to foreign influences.

Professor Hartmann Grisar, S.J., of the University of Innsbruck, has completed his life of *Luther* by a third volume with the sub-title, *Am Ende der Bahn, Rückblicke* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912, pp. xviii, 1108). The volume contains a full index to the whole work. Following closely after the appearance of this work in Germany comes an English version of vol. I., translated by E. M. Lamond and published by Kegan Paul.

T. von Liebenau has contributed a study on *Der Franziskaner Dr. Thomas Murner* to the ninth volume of Pastor's *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1913, pp. viii, 266).

Under the auspices of the Verein für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg, W. Friedensburg has published one volume and M. Haas another of *Kurmärkische Ständeakten* in the sixteenth century (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1913).

Hermann Hallwich is publishing *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte Wallensteins, 1630-1634* (Vienna, Hölder).

A volume of *Preussische Staatsverträge aus der Regierungszeit König Friedrich Wilhelms I.*, edited by V. Löwe, has recently appeared among the publications of the Prussian State Archives (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1913).

An elaborate study of the financial administration under Frederick the Great is by G. P. Reimann on *Das Tabaksmonopol Friedrichs des Grossen* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1913).

Three volumes of *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der Deutschen Einheitsbewegung*, edited by Herman Haupt (Heidelberg, Winter), have already appeared under the auspices of the recently constituted Burschenschaft Historical Commission.

The French occupation of Prussia furnishes the subject for two recent monographs: H. Granier's *Berichte aus der Berliner Franzosenzeit* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1913) makes extensive use of papers from the archives of both Berlin and Paris. A smaller work on *Ostpreussen in der Franzosenzeit* is by Bezenberger (Königsberg, Gräfe and Unger, 1913).

Prince Schwarzenberg's *Briefe an seine Frau, 1799-1816*, have been edited by J. F. Novák (Vienna, 1913); and J. von Pflugk-Hartung has edited Gneisenau's *Briefe, 1800-1815* (Gotha, Perthes, 1913). A life of Schwarzenberg has also been published by Kerchnawe and Veltzé (Vienna, Gerlach and Wiedling, 1913). O. Harnack has published a biography of *Wilhelm von Humboldt* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1913).

The beginnings of political agitation in Germany after the Congress of Vienna are set forth in *Die Anfänge des Parteipolitischen Lebens und der Presse in Bayern unter Ludwig I., 1825-1831*, by W. Lempfrid (Strassburg, Herder, 1912); and in A. List's *Der Kampf ums gute alte Recht, 1815-1819, nach seiner Idee und Parteigeschichtliche Seite* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1913).

Dr. Lina von Kulenkampff in *Der Erste Vereinigte Preussische Landtag, 1847, und die Oeffentliche Meinung Südwestdeutschlands* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1913, pp. 106), and E. Hemmerle in *Die Rheinländer und die Preussische Verfassungsfrage auf dem Ersten Vereinigten Landtag, 1847* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1912, pp. 229) deal with somewhat different aspects of the same question.

Hans Schmidt has produced a volume on *Die Polnische Revolution des Jahres 1848 im Grossherzogtum Posen* (Weimar, Duncker, 1912, pp. xxxii, 389), which is an exhaustive compilation of facts resulting from researches in various archives.

G. Goyau's *Bismarck et l'Eglise: le Kulturkampf, 1870-1887* (vols. 3 and 4, Paris, Perrin, 1913) is now complete in four volumes.

The latest issues in the *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen* are Dr. Otto Schmidt's *Die Reichseinnahmen Ruprechts v. d. Pfalz* (Leipzig,

Quelle and Meyer, 1912, pp. 100), which describes the financial administrative system, and both the regular and the extraordinary sources of revenue and collection; Dr. Walther Thenius's *Die Anfänge des Stehenden Heerwesens in Kursachsen unter Johann Georg III. und Johann Georg IV.* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1912, pp. xii, 148), which describes the development and condition of the Saxon army from 1680 to 1694; and Dr. Walter Thum's *Die Rekrutierung der Sächsischen Armee unter August dem Starken* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1912, pp. 89). Each thesis is based upon the use of material from the archives as well as upon published sources.

H. Wäsche is publishing a three-volume *Anhaltische Geschichte* (Cöthen, Schulze, 1912-1913).

A *Geschichte der Freien Stadt Frankfurt-am-Main, 1814-1866*, has been written by R. Schwemer (Frankfort, Baer, 1912).

Adolf Rapp has made the first attempt to publish the sources for the history of Stuttgart, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1912, pp. xxii, 680), of which the first volume runs from the earliest mention in 1229 to 1496. The volume is the thirteenth issued by the Württemberg Historical Commission.

Professor Richard Charmatz's *Wegweiser durch die Litteratur der Oesterreichischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1913, pp. x, 138) is a manual for elementary and popular rather than for scholarly use. It is an attempt to list the best books on the different phases, political, economic, and cultural, of the history of the whole Austro-Hungarian monarchy. A more pretentious and specialized work is Dr. I. Kont's *Bibliographie Française de la Hongrie, 1521-1910, avec un Inventaire des Documents Manuscrits* (Paris, Leroux, 1913).

Count Victor Ségur-Cabanac has written a sympathetic account of *Kaiser Ferdinand I. als Regent und Mensch* (Vienna, Konegen, 1912, pp. xvii, 262). His great-grandfather was Ferdinand's chamberlain and an opponent of Metternich.

W. Alter has used some new materials in a little monograph on *Die Auswärtige Politik der Ungarischen Revolution, 1848-1849* (Berlin, Paetel, 1913), and in his *Feldzeugmeister Benedek und die K. und K. Nordarmee, 1866* (Berlin, Paetel, 1912; reviewed by General von Zwehl, *Deutsche Rundschau*, January).

The rise of the municipality of Geneva, and its civil, judicial, and financial systems in the fifteenth century are described by the late Léopold Micheli in *Les Institutions Municipales de Genève au XV^{me} Siècle*, published in the *Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève* (Geneva, Jullien, 1912, pp. 244). A series of illustrative documents is printed as an appendix.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Bloch, *Die Sachsengeschichte Widukinds von Korvei* (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere

Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXXVIII. 1); K. Strecker, *Notkers Vita S. Galli* (*ibid.*, 1); F. L. Baumann, *Die Benediktbeurer Urkunden bis 1270* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 2); W. Fraknoi, *Die Thronfolgeordnung im Zeitalter der Arpáden* (Ungarische Rundschau, January); H. Niese, *Materialien zur Geschichte Kaiser Friedrichs II.* (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 4); D. Csánki, *Matthias, König der Ungarn* (Ungarische Rundschau, January); J. A. Faulkner, *Luther and the Bigamous Marriage of Philip of Hesse* (American Journal of Theology, April); P. Hildebrandt, *Die Päpstliche Politik in der Preussischen und in der Jülich-Klerischen Frage*, II. (Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XV. 2); P. Hildebrandt, *Die Anfänge des Direkten Diplomatischen Verkehrs zwischen dem Päpstlichen und dem Preussischen Hofe: ein Nachtrag zu "Preussen und die Römische Kurie"* (*ibid.*); V. Marcé, *La Chambre des Comptes de Prusse et la Cour des Comptes de l'Empire Allemand*, I. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, March); M. Lehmann, *Die Ehrhebung von 1813* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March); H. Scholz, *Fichte und Napoleon* (*ibid.*, April); F. J. Schmidt, *Hegel und Marx* (*ibid.*, March); K. A. von Müller, *Bismarck und Ludwig II. in September 1870* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXI. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: S. Grawez, *Livres Belges qu'il faut lire pour notre Vie Nationale* (Revue Bibliographique Belge, December).

Rudolf Häpke is the editor of *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hanse und zur Deutschen Seegeschichte*, of which the first volume extends from 1531 to 1557 (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1913).

Dr. H. W. van Loon, a Dutch scholar, now of Washington, has issued a volume on *The Fall of the Dutch Republic*, through Messrs. Houghton Mifflin in Boston and Messrs. Constable in London.

Professor A. Cauchie of the University of Louvain has published *Le Comte L. C. M. de Barbiano de Belgiojoso et ses Papiers d'État conservés à Milan: Contribution à l'Histoire des Réformes de Joseph II. en Belgique* (Brussels, Weissenbruch, 1912, pp. 190; reviewed, *Revue Critique*, March 29), in volume LXXXI. 3 of the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire de Belgique*. Count Barbiano di Belgiojoso was the real administrator of the Austrian Netherlands under Maria Christina from 1783 to 1787, and was the unpopular agent of Joseph's reforming policy. The *Bulletin*, LXXXI. 4, contains a collection by M. Émile Dony of letters of Philip II. and Margaret of Parma to Philippe de Croy, third duke of Aerschot, and one of letters and other documents of Gerard Mercator, edited by Professor F. Van Ortruy. The next number

(LXXXII. 1) presents an interesting study of "La Vie intime en Flandre au Moyen Age d'après des Documents Inédits", by M. Napoléon de Pauw.

The sixth volume covering the closing years of the Napoleonic empire completes *La Domination Française en Belgique*, by Jules Delhaize (Brussels, Lebègue, 1913, pp. 358; reviewed, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, April).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Professor A. C. Crowell has completed an excellent translation of Dr. Karl Mortensen's *Handbook of Norse Mythology* (New York, T. Y. Crowell, pp. viii, 208). Felix Niedner has written *Islands Kultur zur Wikingerzeit* (Jena, Diedrichs, 1913, pp. vi, 189) as an introductory volume for the collection of German translations of early Norse literature, *Thule*.

The Cambridge University Press (New York, Putnams) has lately added to its series of *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* two good little historical books: on *The Icelandic Sagas*, by Dr. W. A. Craigie, and on *The Vikings*, by Professor Allen Mawer.

Hutchinson and Company have published in two volumes M. Eugénie Koch's translation of *An Exiled King: Gustaf Adolf IV. of Sweden* by Sophie Elkan.

Justice Barton of the British High Court of Justice is bringing out the first volume of a *Life of Bernadotte*, based on new as well as old material, and published by John Murray.

A recent contribution to the history of the Baltic Provinces is Drever's *Die Lübischo-Livländischen Beziehungen zur Zeit des Unterganges Livländischer Selbständigkeit, 1551-1563* (Lübeck, Schmidt, 1913).

Professor Jireček of the University of Vienna has published a timely study on a little known subject, *Staat und Gesellschaft im Mittelalterlichen Serbien* (Vienna, Holder, 1913).

Some account of the conditions in the Balkan peninsula preceding the present war may be found in L. Boussénard's *La Terreur en Macédoine, Récit Vrai* (Paris, Tallandier, 1912, pp. viii, 396). Another volume of war correspondence is *De Sofia à Tchataldja*, by René Puaux, of the *Paris Temps* (Paris, Perrin, 1913). The first attempt of a military historian to give an account of the war is Lieut.-Col. Boucabeille's *La Guerre Turco-Balkanique, 1912, Thrace, Macédoine, Albanie, Épire* (Paris, Chapelot, 1913, with 11 maps; reviewed, *Revue Historique*, May).

The Ottoman Empire, 1801-1913, by William Miller (Cambridge University Press) follows the history of Turkey and the Balkan states down to March, 1913. Among other books dealing with recent Turkish his-

tory are: *With the Turks in Thrace*, by Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett (New York, George H. Doran); *With the Conquered Turk*, by Major Lionel James (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company); *The Balkan War Drama*, by Cyril Campbell (New York, McBride, Nast, and Company); *With the Victorious Bulgarians*, by Lieut. Hermenegild Wagner (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company); *Two Years under the Crescent*, by H. C. Seppings Wright (Nisbet and Company); and *With the Bulgarian Staff*, by Noel Buxton (London, Smith and Elder).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Willgren, *Zur Agrargeschichte Schwedens im Früheren Mittelalter* (Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, February); E. Bull, *Die Sozialistische Bewegung in Norwegen* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, III. 3); A. Bugge, *Norske Historikere* (Samtiden, XXIV. 2); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Sur la Mort de Paul I^{er}* (Revue des Études Historiques, March); M. Baumgart, *Les Pouvoirs de l'Empereur d'après la Constitution Russe* (Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique en France et à l'Étranger, January); A. Andréadès, *Ali Pacha de Tébélîn, Économiste et Financier* (Revue des Études Grecques, November).

THE FAR EAST

Herbert H. Gowen has published through Sherman, French, and Company, a brief but useful *Outline History of China*, which, in 182 pages, covers the period from the earliest time to the Manchu conquest.

M. Henri Cordier has prepared a *Bibliotheca Japonica, Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire Japonais, rangés par Ordre Chronologique jusqu'à 1870, suivi d'un Appendice renfermant la Liste Alphabétique des Principaux Ouvrages parus de 1870 à 1912*, which forms the eighth volume of the fifth series of the *Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (Paris, Leroux, 1913, pp. xii, 762).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Courant, *Les Débuts de la Révolution dans les Provinces Chinoises* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, March); A. Legendre, *La Révolution Chinoise* (Revue de Paris, February 15).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Of the staff of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Mr. Leland continues in Paris and Miss Davenport has gone to England for further work upon her volumes of treaties. Professor Faust of Cornell University is now at work in the archives of the German cantons of Switzerland. From June 18 to September 18 the headquarters of the Department will as usual be "North Edgecomb, Maine". Of the forthcoming publications it is expected that Professor Bolton's *Guide to the Materials for United States History in the Archives of Mexico* will appear during the summer. The index

to Mr. Parker's *Guide* to similar materials in Canada, and that to Messrs. Paullin and Paxson's book on those in the English archives for the period after 1783 are now being prepared. Galley-proof of the second volume of Professor Andrews's *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Public Record Office* has been read.

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has recently acquired several extremely interesting collections: the entire body of the papers of the African Colonization Society; the extensive papers of Nicholas Biddle; those of Gideon Granger and of Francis Granger, the latter including a part of the papers of Thurlow Weed; those of S. L. Southard and of Hugh McCulloch; the letter book of W. H. Crawford when minister in France, and the letters written to him by the treaty commissioners at Ghent; the account book of Robert Carter Nicholas as treasurer of Virginia, 1775-1777; and a number of important papers in colonial history from the Philipps sale in London.

The volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*, for 1703 is all in type. Beginning with that for 1704 it is understood to be the intention of the Deputy Keeper of the British Public Records to pursue a different system, intended to advance more rapidly the work of calendaring. Instead of inserting in their chronological places, day by day, the matters contained in the Journals of the Board of Trade and, as has of late been done, those contained in the journals of the colonial assemblies, these will in future be wholly omitted. The American states, and apparently also the West Indian authorities, will be relied upon to complete the printing of their journals if not already printed, and an independent publication will be made of the Journals of the Board of Trade, beginning at present with 1704, but later running back to 1696. It is expected that this change of system will enable the ground of the *Calendars* to be covered at twice the present rate of progress.

On July 19, 1912, the President issued an executive order instructing the heads of executive departments to obtain from each office under their jurisdiction, outside the city of Washington, information concerning what archives prior to 1873 exist in these offices and in what condition they are. These reports were to be sent to the Librarian of Congress to be edited. The report of the Librarian of Congress, dated February 28, 1913, was transmitted to Congress by the President and has been printed with the title *Archives of Government Offices outside of the City of Washington* (62 Cong., 3 sess., *House Doc. no. 1443*, pp. 219). The reports from the diplomatic and consular offices throughout the world show that, in spite of many gaps and losses, these archives contain a great mass of unused material valuable for the diplomatic and commercial history of the United States. Reports from government offices within the United States, such as the mints, and the offices of collectors of internal revenue and of customs (though the customs reports are meagre and perfunctory) indicate the existence of much material of

value for the economic history of the country. The report also covers the archives of the federal district courts, attorneys, and marshals, those to be found at the various forts and military posts, and in navy yards, and the land office records, these last being the best preserved. Deliberate destruction of records not in current use must have occurred much oftener than is recorded in these reports. Of the lack of care in their preservation the reports afford abundant evidence. The librarian suggests that many of these records may properly be destroyed, but recommends that this shall be done only after an examination by competent authority. The rest, it is plain, should go to Washington, to the proposed National Archive Building.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a volume of the addresses delivered by Mr. James Bryce during the past six years. The volume bears the title *University and Historical Addresses* and includes the Character and Career of Lincoln, the Beginnings of Virginia, the Landing of the Pilgrims, Thomas Jefferson, the Constitution of the United States, and other addresses.

In his monograph *The Supreme Court and Unconstitutional Legislation* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law), Dr. B. F. Moore discusses the early attitude of the state courts towards declaring legislation unconstitutional, as well as the course of the Supreme Court of the United States on the question, and analyzes the federal statutes held void by the court. Five appendixes contain analytic tables of cases.

The Library of Congress has issued a third edition of its *List of References on Federal Control of Commerce and Corporations* (pp. 164). The present edition, compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer, is made up of references selected from the earlier lists (compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin) and from the material published during the past five years. It is the first of two sections and contains the references of a general character on interstate commerce, the constitutional question, etc. A second section, now in preparation, will contain references to material dealing with special applications of the principle of federal control.

The issues of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for January, March, and April contain the concluding installments (parts iv. and v. and supplement) of the List of City Charters, Ordinances, and Collected Documents.

The address of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, *'Tis Sixty Years Since*, delivered before the University of South Carolina on Founder's Day, January 16, 1913, has been brought out by the Macmillan Company. The purpose of the address is "to compare the ideals and actualities of the present with the ideals, anticipations, and dreams of a past now somewhat remote", and the opportunity to utter trenchant criticism upon some latter-day political panaceas is not neglected. The address is full of vital interest and illuminating interpretation.

Mr. Garfield Charles has compiled a supplementary volume to William M. Malloy's compilation of *Treaties, Conventions, etc., between the United States of America and other Powers* (Government Printing Office, 62 Cong., 3 sess., *Senate Doc. no. 1063*, pp. xxii, 443). The volume is in two parts, part 1 being Conventions in Force, and part 2, Conventions not in Force.

Senator Elihu Root's Stafford Little lectures, delivered recently at Princeton University, will be published by the Princeton University Press under the title *The Essentials of the Constitution*.

Colonel Reuben T. Durrett is contributing to *Americana* (January, February, March) a series of interesting papers upon Traditions of the Earliest Visits of Foreigners to North America. The articles relate principally to the Madoc Tradition. In the March number, under the caption "A Patriot's View of the Political Situation immediately following the Civil War", Mr. Duane Mowry presents a letter of Christopher L. Sholes, January 1, 1866, to Senator James R. Doolittle. Mr. Brigham H. Roberts brings his History of the Mormon Church down to 1857.

Mr. Mark A. Candler contributes to the January number of the *Magazine of History* a biographical sketch of John Adams Treutlen, the first governor of Georgia under the constitution of 1777, and Mr. Levi S. Gould contributes some Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln. A letter of Nathan Hale, October 19, 1775, is given in facsimile. Articles in the February number are: President Jackson and the Second United States Bank, by C. N. Holmes; the Counties of Rhode Island, by Rev. Daniel Goodwin; and a translation, contributed by Mr. L. D. Scisco (from *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, XXXIV. 357-363), of the commission, dated May 1, 1509, to Ponce de León, granting certain privileges in the island of Porto Rico.

In the January-April issue (double number) of the *German American Annals* Mr. Preston A. Barba continues his paper on Friedrich Armand Strubberg, giving an analytical account of Strubberg's literary works. Mr. Charles F. Brede's German Drama in English on the Philadelphia Stage is also continued.

A Mennonite Historical Society was recently organized with Rev. N. B. Grubb, Philadelphia, president, S. K. Mosiman, Bluffton, Ohio, vice-president, H. P. Krehbiel, Newton, Kansas, secretary, and G. A. Haury, Newton, Kansas, treasurer.

Missionary Explorers among the American Indians, by Mary Gay Humphreys, includes stories of notable missionaries to the Indians told largely in their own words (Scribner).

Mr. L. D. Scisco contributes to the December (1912) issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* translations of two patents for colonization issued to Ponce de León, the one of February 23, 1512, and the other of September 26, 1514. Texts of these docu-

ments are in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, XXII. 26, 33. The March number includes "Sundry Landmark Notabilia of our Society", by Rev. William J. McCallen, and a life of Bishop Conwell of Philadelphia, by the late Martin I. J. Griffin, revised and edited by Rev. Lemuel B. Norton.

The Doire Publishing Company of Philadelphia has recently published *The Irish Contribution to American Independence*, by Thomas H. Maginness, jr., a work intended to establish the importance of the Irish in the history of this country.

The American Geographical Society has placed on exhibition in its building in New York a number of notable maps in the form of glass transparencies, and has issued an historical description of them, prepared by Dr. Edward L. Stevenson: *Maps reproduced as Glass Transparencies: Selected to represent the Development of Map making from the First to the Seventeenth Century* (pp. 44). The transparencies, on glass plates about 44 by 56 centimetres in size, of which there are forty-one, have been placed in the windows of the society's lecture hall. The set includes the Peutinger Table, the world map of Cosmas, that of Blaeu, 1605, etc. Dr. Stevenson includes brief descriptions of nine notable maps which were on exhibition, though not as transparencies, among them facsimiles of the recently discovered maps of Waldseemüller and Hondius.

Professor Charles A. Beard has brought out through Macmillan *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. The book will be appropriately reviewed in an early issue of this journal.

The Macmillan Company has published *An Industrial History of the American People*, by J. R. H. Moore.

The *Proceedings*, vol. XXII., part 2, of the American Antiquarian Society relate in large measure to the celebration on October 16 of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the society. An "Historical Address" was delivered by Mr. Charles G. Washburn, and an address on Democracy and the Constitution by Professor A. C. McLaughlin. At the centennial dinner brief speeches were made by President Taft, Mr. James Bryce, Señor Pezet, minister of Peru, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Mr. Samuel W. Pennypacker, and Professor William A. Dunning. The volume includes also a description of the original records of the council for New England, recently presented to the society by Mr. Frederick L. Gay of Brookline. Included also are lists of the officers and members of the society, 1812-1912.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Viceroy of New Spain, by Donald E. Smith, appears among the *University of California Publications in History*.

A Naval History of the American Revolution, in two volumes, by Dr. Gardner W. Allen, has been published by Houghton Mifflin Com-

pany, while Mrs. Reginald De Koven's *Life and Letters of John Paul Jones*, also in two volumes, has come from the press of Scribner. Both will be reviewed in an early number of this journal.

The diary of Fray Pedro Font, the chaplain who accompanied Juan Bautista Anza on his expedition to San Francisco Bay, September, 1775, to June, 1776, translated and edited by Mr. F. J. Teggart, has been published in original and translation by the University of California (*Academy of Pacific Coast History Publications*). The volume is entitled *The Anza Expedition of 1775-1776; Diary of Pedro Font*.

The series of lectures on the life and work of Thomas Jefferson, recently delivered by Senator John Sharp Williams at Columbia University, has been published by Lemcke and Buechner. The book bears the title *Thomas Jefferson: his permanent Influence on American Institutions*.

Ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge has been making elaborate studies toward a life of Chief Justice John Marshall, and will be glad to hear of additional material.

It is understood that Mr. C. R. Brown of Princeton University has in press *The Northern Confederacy according to the Plan of the Essex Junto*.

In the monograph *The Development of Sentiment on Negro Suffrage to 1860* (*Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, no. 477, pp. 135), by Emil Olbrich, is presented a phase of the subject that has not been well known. The opinion is expressed in the opening paragraph of the study that the imposition of negro suffrage on the Southern states by the reconstruction measures of 1867 cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of the development of the ideas concerning the African's right of franchise through more than a hundred years of previous history. The author traces these ideas through legislation, discussion, and practice from the earliest known instances of negro voting (which were in 1701 and 1703, and strangely enough in South Carolina) to the outbreak of the Civil War. The author recognizes that negro suffrage as applied to the South after the war presented a different aspect from that which had been manifest in the Northern states before the war, when its advocacy was due to devotion to abstract principle, with scarcely any practical bearing; but believes that previous development of the idea had in no small measure prepared the ground. Mr. Olbrich died in 1906, and the monograph is put forth, with explanations, by Professor Carl R. Fish.

The centennial anniversary of the birth of Stephen A. Douglas was celebrated in Chicago on April 23, under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society. Reminiscences of Douglas, prepared by his son, Robert M. Douglas, were read by his grandson, Martin F. Douglas. Colonel Clark E. Carr pronounced a eulogy on Douglas.

Moffat, Yard, and Company have brought out *William Lloyd Garrison*, by John J. Chapman.

Major Robert Anderson and Fort Sumter, 1861 (pp. 19), by Eba Anderson Lawton, is a résumé of the affair of the defense of Fort Sumter, including some of the important correspondence, and is anticipatory of the memoirs of Major Anderson, which it is understood are in preparation.

The continuation of *The Story of the Civil War*, by the late John C. Ropes, of which two parts had been published before his death, was entrusted to Colonel W. R. Livermore. Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have now brought out part III., which covers the campaign of 1863 to July 10, together with the operations on the Mississippi from April, 1862, and is in two volumes, book I. dealing with Chancellorsville, the operations against Vicksburg, etc., and book II. with Vicksburg, Port Hudson, Tullahoma, and Gettysburg.

Volume XXV. of series I of *Official Records of Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, edited by Mr. Charles W. Stewart, has been issued (Government Printing Office, 1912, 61 Cong., 3 sess., *House Doc. no. 1017*).

The Life and Letters of General George G. Meade, edited by his son and by his grandson, George G. Meade, is now out and will shortly be reviewed in this journal.

The Indian War of 1864: being a Fragment of the Early History of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and Wyoming, is by Captain E. F. Ware, a participant (Topeka, Crane, pp. 601).

Professor James A. Woodburn's *Life of Thaddeus Stevens* (Bobbs-Merrill Company) has come from the press.

Messrs. Putnam have just brought out in six handsome volumes *The Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, selected and edited by Dr. Frederic Bancroft on behalf of the Carl Schurz Memorial Committee.

The library of Princeton University has published *An Essay towards a Bibliography of the published Writings and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson, 1875-1910* (pp. 24), by Harry Clemons, reference librarian. The compiler desires information from any source that will enable him to make complete the bibliography of the writings of Mr. Wilson to the time of his resignation of the presidency of Princeton University.

Senator Robert M. La Follette's *Autobiography: a Personal Narrative of Political Experiences*, which has been appearing serially in the *American Magazine*, is now published in book form (Madison, The Robert M. La Follette Company).

The Panama Canal Conflict between Great Britain and the United States of America: a Study, by Professor L. Oppenheim, of Cambridge, is a concise but forcible presentation of the case from the British point of view.

The New International Year Book for 1912 (Dodd, Mead, and Company) has come from the press. Prominent features of the volume are American politics, foreign affairs, aqueducts and canal, reforms in the development of municipal government, progress of the peace movement, etc.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

New England and New France: Contrasts and Parallels in Colonial History, by James Douglas, has been published by Putnam.

Mr. J. Gardner Bartlett contributes to the April number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* a chancery bill (1627) relating to the dispute between John Pierce of London and the Merchant Adventurers. The town records of Gosport, New Hampshire, are continued; the records of the church at Willington, Connecticut, 1759-1790, contributed by Miss Mary K. Talcott, are begun.

The Finances of Vermont (Columbia University Studies), by Frederick A. Wood, Ph.D., traces the financial history of the state from its beginning as the New Hampshire Grants to the near present.

It is understood that the Massachusetts Biographical Society will shortly bring out its *Biographical History of Massachusetts*, of which Dr. S. A. Eliot is editor-in-chief.

In the *Bostonian Society Publications*, vol. IX., appears the narrative of Ensign D'Berniere, one of the spies sent by General Gage, in February, 1775, to find out the state of the provincial magazines at Worcester and Concord. The narrative is edited and annotated by Mr. J. C. Hosmer. Rev. A. Titus contributes an account of Madam Sarah Knight, schoolmistress, and author of the well-known diary of travel.

The Essex Institute has published *Vital Records of Dunstable, Massachusetts*, extending to the end of the year 1849.

Charles Hudson's excellent *History of Lexington, Massachusetts*, first published in 1868, has been carefully revised and brought down to date by a committee of the Lexington Historical Society, and is now issued by the Houghton Mifflin Company in two handsome volumes, of which the second is entirely genealogical.

The New England Historic Genealogical Society has published *Vital Records of Abington, Massachusetts*, to the year 1850.

Daniel Gookin (1612-1687), Assistant and Major-General of the Massachusetts Bay Colony: his Life and Letters and Some Account of his Ancestry, by Frederick W. Gookin, is the result of research extending over sixty years, begun by John Wingate Thornton in 1840 and carried to completion by Mr. Gookin. It is published in Chicago by the author.

An act of the New York legislature, approved by the governor on April 30, makes important changes in the law relative to the divisions of history and of public records in the education department of the state.

The functions of the division of history are broadened to include the preparation for publication of any manuscripts which, in the judgment of the state historian, are worthy of preservation, whether official records of the state or of its civil subdivisions or manuscripts possessed by chartered historical and patriotic societies. In every instance, however, authorization must come from the commissioner of education. The education department is given supervision and custody of the records of any extinct office, board, or institution, and the officers of the local divisions of the state are authorized to transfer to the custody of the department any records not in general use. The division of public records, at the head of which is a supervisor, is given supervision over the making and preservation of records and may enforce its recommendation in the courts. Public records no longer in current use may be destroyed only with the consent of the commissioner of education.

The *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for April contains the addresses of Mr. James Bryce, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and Mr. Joseph H. Choate at a meeting of the society on December 14. Miss Elizabeth Simpson contributes to this issue a letter written by Asa Wheeler, a soldier, from Van Schaick's Island, September 5, 1777. The records of the Reformed Church at Machackemeck (Deerpark) are continued, as are also the several genealogical series.

The Origin and History of Grace Church, Jamaica, Long Island, by Rev. Horatio Oliver Ladd, long rector of the church, is announced for publication by the author. The history of the church, which was ministered to for nearly one hundred years by the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, goes back to the end of the seventeenth century. The book is understood to include much of personal as well as religious history.

Dr. William E. Chancellor has produced a short *Life of Silas Wright*, United States senator from New York, 1833-1844, and governor of the state of New York, 1844-1846 (New York, W. C. O'Donnell).

The legislature of New Jersey, at its recent session, passed an act establishing a department of public records and archives, consisting of three commissioners appointed by the governor, to have charge and supervision over the public records of the state and of the several counties and municipalities as well. The governor has appointed to this commission Edwin R. Walker, William Nelson, corresponding secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society and for the last thirty years editor of the *New Jersey Archives*, and Francis B. Lee. Unfortunately, no appropriation was made by the legislature for carrying into effect the purposes of the act, but it is expected that this omission will be remedied.

Volume LI. of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, by Dr. L. S. Blakey, is a discussion of Southern liquor legislation with especial reference to the distribution of the negro population. The study is entitled *The Sale of Liquor in the South*.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for March prints a paper by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner on Kent County and Kent Island, 1656-1662, and various continued articles.

The Land System in Maryland, 1720-1765 (Johns Hopkins University Studies, series XXXI., no. 1, pp. 106), by Clarence P. Gould, Ph.D., is a study of the Maryland land system in four aspects, the system of land grants, the charges on the land, the methods of management, and a separate study of the manors.

The Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, March 19, 1702/3 to January 31, 1711/2, has appeared.

Of the contents of the April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* only the most summary notion can be given. The installment from the Randolph manuscript is a continuation of the Commission and Instructions to the Earl of Orkney for the Government of Virginia. A group of papers relating to Virginia in the period 1667-1676 includes the grievances of Virginia (about 1675), and several documents in the case of Giles Bland, relating to a Virginia estate. Among the council papers are some proclamations of Governor Nicholson in regard to trade, shipping, and public revenue (1699), instructions to him in regard to pirates (1697), martial law (1699), orders in regard to Scottish vessels in the West Indies (1699), a letter from the Privy Council to the governor, June 26, 1699, one from the Board of Trade, June 28, 1699, two proclamations of the king in regard to pirates (1699), and two in regard to the Huguenots (1700). This number of the *Magazine* includes also the proceedings of the society at the annual meeting on February 15.

Much of the contents of the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* relates to the Civil War. An unsigned article (presumably by the editor), bearing the caption "The Breaking of the Light", discourses upon the growth of a more liberal spirit of inquiry in regard to the struggle between the North and the South, and the expression of more candid and generous views. The article is followed by some correspondence between Moncure D. Conway and J. M. Mason, in June, 1863, upon a proposition of Conway, in behalf of anti-slavery leaders, to withdraw support from the war in the event that the Confederate government would emancipate the slaves, and some extracts from the diary of Edmund Ruffin, 1863-1864, relating to the devastations of the war and touching upon the question of retaliation. In this issue are also an instructive paper on the Virginia Legislature and the Stamp Act, by E. J. Miller, Notes from the Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1712-1726, and a continuation of Mr. Lothrop Withington's contribution, Arrivals in Virginia in 1656.

Miss Mabel L. Webber contributes to the January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* two lists of South Carolina Loyalists, the one taken from the Colonel Thomas Dundas

manuscripts, now in the Library of Congress, the other from the transcripts of memorials in the New York Public Library. An account of the Tattnall and Fenwick families in South Carolina is contributed by Mr. D. E. Huger Smith.

The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida, by Professor William W. Davis of the University of Kansas, is a recent number of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

In pursuance of a vote adopted by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its last meeting it is intended to begin next autumn the publication of a journal to be called the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, devoted to such purposes as the title readily indicates. Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois is to be the managing editor. The editorial board consists of the following: Professors Eugene C. Barker, Walter L. Fleming, Archer B. Hulbert, James A. James, Orin G. Libby, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Claude H. Van Tyne, and Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites.

The most important feature of the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is a "Diary of the Indian Congregation at Goshen on the River Muskingum from the 1 January to 30 April 1812", written by Rev. Benjamin Mortimer, who accompanied David Zeisberger to Goshen in 1798 and became a zealous worker among the Indians. The original of the diary is in the archives of the Moravian church at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Professor Frank U. Quillin has recently published *The Color Line in Ohio: a History of Race Prejudice in a typical Northern State*, in which he reaches the conclusions that the negro is less fortunately situated in the North than in the South in respect both to industrial and to civil conditions, and that race prejudice has increased since 1865 and always increases as the proportion of negroes in a community increases.

The legislature of Indiana has created a department of history and archives, to be a department of the state library, and has made an appropriation of \$2500 a year to carry on the work. The department will be under the direction of Professor Harlow Lindley.

Professor Harlow Lindley has brought out a report on the archives of Indiana which includes lists of documents in the principal state offices.

The March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a sketch of the career of James Noble, United States senator from Indiana, 1816-1831, by Nina K. Reid, and a reprint (from the *Indianapolis News* of January 4, 1908) of Charles M. Walker's "Concerning the Hoosier: an Appreciation".

The Illinois State Historical Society held its fourteenth annual meeting at Springfield on May 15 and 16. The meeting was in considerable measure devoted to aspects of the religious history of the state, particularly the attitude of important denominations toward the slavery ques-

tion. Rev. N. S. Haynes read a paper on the Disciples of Christ in Illinois and their Attitude toward Slavery, Mr. Willard C. MacNaul on the Baptists and Slavery in Illinois, Rev. John M. Ryan on the Slavery Controversy and the Methodist Episcopal Church in Illinois, Rev. H. D. Jenkins on the History of the Presbyterian Church in Illinois, and Rev. James J. Howard a Sketch of the History of the Roman Catholic Church in Illinois. Professor E. B. Greene discussed the public archives of the state, and Mr. Frank E. Stevens discoursed upon Stephen A. Douglas, the Expansionist.

The principal paper in the April number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is a study, by Jessie McHarry, of John Reynolds, governor of Illinois 1831-1834, and afterwards for several terms member of Congress. The paper is a thesis in the graduate school of the University of Illinois. Other noteworthy contents of the issue are: a study of Fort Kaskaskia, accompanied by several plans, by Dr. J. F. Snyder; and Major H. C. Connelly's Recollections of the War between the States, a continuation of the story of Morgan's raid, which appeared in the January number of the *Journal*.

Arrangements have been made whereby the remarkable library of Col. Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, rich in rarities and other materials for the history of Kentucky and the Old West, will pass into the possession of the University of Chicago.

The *Annual Report* (pp. 198) of the Chicago Historical Society for the year 1912 contains the usual extended accounts of the society's proceedings during the year, reports, etc. Among the manuscripts acquired are several letters of notable Americans, including one from Meriwether Lewis to William Clark, dated Philadelphia, May 17, 1803.

The legislature of Michigan at its recent session created the Michigan Historical Commission, to consist of six members appointed by the governor for a term of six years, the governor to be ex officio a member of the commission. The commission is authorized to appoint a secretary, who is to be the editor of the publications of the commission, to take possession of any records in state and local offices which are not less than thirty years old and are not in current use, and to co-operate with the Michigan Pioneer Society. It may in some particulars take over the property and functions of that society. The commission as now constituted consists of Mr. Clarence M. Burton, president, Mr. William L. Jenks, vice-president, Mgr. Frank O'Brien, Mr. Lawton T. Hemans, Mr. Edwin O. Wood, and Professor Claude H. Van Tyne. Dr. George N. Fuller of the University of Michigan is secretary.

Dr. George N. Fuller of the University of Michigan has in press a volume, *Economic Beginnings of Michigan: the Settlement of Michigan Territory*, which will be published under the auspices of the University of Michigan.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently acquired the papers of the New York and Mississippi Land Company, a company formed in 1835 to buy up lands that had been allotted in severalty to Chickasaw Indians, who were about to remove to Indian Territory. There are six folio volumes of these papers, comprising more than one thousand letters and documents, extending from 1835 to 1884, the great bulk of which consists of the full and frank letters of the company's manager during all these years, whose residence was at Pontotoc, Mississippi. The letters richly illustrate the economic and social conditions and developments in Mississippi from the panic times of 1837 to the Civil War and afford glimpses of the politics of the era.

A number of separates from the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin have appeared, which call for special mention. In "The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act" (no. 149) Professor F. H. Hodder offers a different interpretation of the motives of Stephen A. Douglas from that which has usually been accepted, maintaining that Douglas was controlled by devotion to the development of the West. "Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data" (no. 150), by John T. Lee, is intended to be supplementary to the Bibliography of Carver's Travels, which appeared in the society's *Proceedings* for 1909. "The Capture of Mackinac in 1812" (no. 151), by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg, devotes several pages to the early history of Mackinac before describing the events of the capture by the British. "Chapters in Fox River Valley History" (no. 152) comprises: I. William Powell's Recollections, and II. Pioneers and Durham Boats on Fox River, by John Wallace Arndt. The first of these items contains Powell's recollections of early days in Wisconsin as taken down by Lyman C. Draper in 1878, with which is coupled Powell's later statement, which he wrote out himself. The second item is condensed from Arndt's pamphlet *The Early History of Green Bay and the Fox River Valley: Personal Reminiscences*, published in 1894. In the article "House Miscellaneous Papers in the Library of Congress" (no. 153) Dr. A. C. Tilton describes the somewhat casual selection of miscellaneous papers of the House of Representatives which, by resolution of March 5, 1910, were transferred to the Library of Congress.

The Wisconsin History Commission has brought out *A Narrative of Service with the Third Wisconsin Infantry*, being the experiences of Major J. W. Hinkley. As here presented the story is compounded by the commission out of a diary of Major Hinkley, his letters, and a narrative written by him several years after the war, and in this final form bears his approval. *Civil War Messages and Proclamations of Wisconsin War Governors* (pp. xvi, 319), edited by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, has been issued by the Commission as *Reprint* no. 2.

The legislature of Minnesota, at its recent session, provided for the construction of an historical library building of modern type, to be

erected on a site adjoining the new capitol. The cost of the building is to be \$500,000, with an addition of \$75,000 from the Minnesota Historical Society for furnishing its library, portrait gallery, and museum. About half the building is at first to be occupied by the Minnesota supreme court and the state library, but it is expected that after a few years these departments will be provided with other quarters and this building be turned over to the exclusive use of the Historical Society. The society, organized in 1849, has taken especial care to obtain genealogies and works on local history pertaining both to the United States and to Canada, and has gathered files of nearly all the newspapers published in Minnesota since 1849, of which it now possesses 9641 bound volumes.

At the session of the general assembly of Iowa which closed in April the permanent annual support of the State Historical Society of Iowa was placed at \$20,000. This is an increase of \$4,000 a year over the amount previously appropriated for the society.

Among the various lines of research being carried on under the direction of the State Historical Society of Iowa is a thorough and comprehensive study of the history of education in Iowa, which is being made by Dr. Clarence R. Aurner. This work when completed will occupy five or six volumes. The society has in press a biography of James Harlan, former United States senator from Iowa and secretary of the interior under President Johnson, written by Mr. Johnson Brigham, state librarian of Iowa.

The following articles appear in the January issue of the *Annals of Iowa*: The Stampede from General Weaver in the Republican Convention of 1875, by James S. Clarkson; Some Characteristics of General U. S. Grant, by Major-General Grenville M. Dodge; Pioneer History of the Territorial and State Library of Iowa, II., by Johnson Brigham; and biographical sketches, by E. H. Stiles, of Henry O'Connor and D. C. Cloud, prominent in the early history of Iowa.

In the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Professor Fred E. Haynes, in a paper designed as an introduction to the study of the third party movements in Iowa, discourses upon Forward Movements in Politics since the Civil War; Mr. Thomas J. Bryant gives an account of the Capture of General Marmaduke by James Dunlavy, an Iowa private cavalryman; and Mr. Jacob Van der Zee contributes a translation of the record of "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa in 1873". The eminent foreigner was the Rev. Dr. M. Cohen Stuart, a Hollander, who journeyed through portions of the United States in 1873 and published his impressions in a bulky volume, *Zes Maanden in Amerika*. The translation presented by Mr. Van der Zee is of that part of the book which relates to Iowa. Mr. Van der Zee also contributes to this issue of the *Journal* an introduction and notes to a reprint (from 29 Cong., 1 sess., *Senate Doc. no. 1*, pp. 217-220) of the

report by Captain Edwin V. Sumner of his dragoon expedition in the territory of Iowa in the summer of 1845.

The *Missouri Historical Review* for April contains a second paper by Floyd C. Shoemaker on the Story of the Civil War in Northeast Missouri.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton contributes to the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* an account of Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity River, 1746-1771, based upon materials in the Béxar archives, Lamar Papers, Nacogdoches archives, and transcripts from the archives of Mexico and Spain in Professor Bolton's personal collection. Alleine Howren contributes a careful study, from the Austin Papers and Mexican archives, of the Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830. An important feature of the decree was its prohibition against Americans' settling in Texas. The correspondence from the British archives in this issue includes a letter from Kennedy to Aberdeen, June 9, 1843, accompanied by an historical abstract in reference to the Texan tariff.

In the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for September, 1912, Rev. J. N. Barry writes of the Trail of the Astorians, Mr. William Barlow presents Reminiscences of Seventy Years, and Mr. Walter Bailey an investigation of the Barlow Road. John C. Calhoun as Secretary of War, 1817-1825, a thesis presented to the department of history, Leland Stanford University, by Francis Packard Young, is a study of this period of Calhoun's career made from a variety of printed sources.

A. C. McClurg and Company have published a history of California by Henry K. Norton, under the title *The Golden State*.

Volume III., part 2, of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt's *The Missions and Missionaries of California* is now out.

Dodd, Mead, and Company have published *Hawaii Past and Present*, by William R. Castle, jr.

The Philippine Library of Manila, of which Dr. James A. Robertson is librarian, has secured by purchase the great collection of Filipiniana possessed by the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas of Barcelona. This new collection, added to what was already possessed by the library, will give it the best collection of Philippine material in the world.

The *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* (vol. XVII., publications for the year 1912), edited by George M. Wrong and W. Stewart Wallace, covers in its usual judicious manner both books and magazine articles of importance. It is interesting to note the number and character of publications relating to Canada, as classified by the reviewers, which have appeared during the past year. Bearing upon the relations of Canada to the empire are 10 books besides many magazine articles; there are about 70 books and numerous articles relating to the political history of Canada as a whole and a like number to provincial

and local history; 55 to geography, economics, and statistics; 45 (including magazine articles) to archaeology, ethnology, and folk-lore; 27 to law, education, and ecclesiastical history; and 12 to bibliography.

The *Eighth Report* (1911) of the Bureau of Archives of Ontario contains the journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1805-1811.

A *Catalogue of Maps, Plans, and Charts in the Map Room of the Dominion Archives*, classified and indexed by H. R. Holmden, in charge of the Map Division, has been issued as no. 8 of the *Publications* of the archives (Ottawa, 1912, Government Printing Bureau, pp. xii, 685). The collection is naturally richest in maps pertaining to Canada, especially to New France, the province and city of Quebec, and Upper Canada, but there are also many maps of South America and West Indian islands, as well as of the United States and the whole of North America. The plans and charts are of great variety. In addition to the catalogue 83 pages of the volume are occupied with appendixes of geographical and historical interest: a translation of the *Ensayo Bibliográfico del Cèlebre Navegante y Consumado Cosmógrafo Juan de la Cosa*, etc., published in Madrid in 1892, by Cánovas Valledo y Traynor, together with an historical description of the chart of Juan de la Cosa, by Professor Traynor; S. E. Dawson's Memorandum upon the Cabot map (from the *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1897, pp. 102-105), in English and French; legends in Latin and Spanish on the map, with English translation (*ibid.*, pp. 106-123), to which is added a French translation; and a reprint of the legends and description (28 pages) of the large scale map, made by order of General Murray (1763), of that part of Canada lying along the St. Lawrence between Cape Tourmente and the Cedars.

An Early Canadian Impeachment (Bulletin no. 7 of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, pp. 15), by D. A. McArthur is an account of the impeachment proceedings by the House of Assembly of Lower Canada in 1814 against Jonathan Sewell, chief justice of the province, and James Monk, chief justice of the Court of King's Bench for the district of Montreal.

Charles Scribner's Sons have published, in the South-American series, *Latin America: its Rise and Progress*, by F. García Calderón, with a preface by Raymond Poincaré, president of the French Republic. The translation is by Bernard Miall. The book contains frank and striking views of the United States.

The Civilization of Ancient Mexico, by Lewis Spence, has been added to the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature*.

In 1882 the late Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, in his *Maya Chronicles*, printed portions of the books of Chilam Balam, native annals of Yuca-

tan. The University of Pennsylvania Museum has now brought out as one of its anthropological publications, with an introduction by Dr. G. B. Gordon, a photographic facsimile of *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, Maya text in Spanish transliteration from a manuscript of 1782, but of much earlier derivation.

Professor José N. Matienzo of the University of Buenos Aires has brought out *Le Gouvernement Représentatif Fédéral dans la République Argentine* (Paris, Hachette, pp. 380).

Don Manuel de Amat, viceroy of Peru, sent an expedition in 1772 into the South Sea Islands, and especially to Tahiti. Dr. W. F. Tolmie has discovered in the Archives of the Indies at Seville a complete journal of this expedition, which the Hakluyt Society intends before long to publish.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Gay, *La América Moderna, el Gobierno Colonial de España en América, según el Dr. Zeballos* (La España Moderna, March); T. Jahr, *Nordmenn i Ny Nederland* [Anneke Jans] (Symra, IX. 1); K. Th. Heigel, *Die Beteiligung des Hauses Zweibrücken am Nordamerikanischen Befreiungskrieg* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 6); H. Keiler, *Zur Geschichte der Schifffahrtspolitik in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, April); R. W. Breckenridge, *The Constitution, the Court, and the People* (Yale Law Journal, January); M. Farrand, *The Election and Term of the President* (Yale Review, April); H. B. Fuller, *Myths of American History* (Munsey's Magazine, May); J. L. Hall, *The Religious Opinions of Thomas Jefferson* (Sewanee Review, April); C. F. Adams, *John Quincy Adams in Russia: Unpublished Letters* (Century, June); E. Lehr, *La Doctrine de Monroe: ses Origines, son But, ses Dangers, d'après une récente Publication Américaine* (Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée, XV. 1); A. Henderson, *Forerunners of the Republic: III. Isaac Shelby*; IV. *James Robertson and Pioneer Democracy*; V. *John Sevier and the Evolution of American Democracy* (Neale's Monthly, March, April, May); Ruth B. Hawes, *Slavery in Mississippi* (Sewanee Review, April); Rev. P. C. Croll, *Early Lutheran Annals in the "Far West"* (Penn Germania, March); Capt. A. Gleaves, U. S. N., *An Officer of the Old Navy: Rear-Admiral Charles Steedman, U. S. N. 1811-1890* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); Mrs. John A. Logan, *Recollections of a Soldier's Wife*, cont. (Cosmopolitan, March, April, May, June); Gamaliel Bradford, *G. P. T. Beauregard* (Neale's Monthly, March); Henry Watterson, *The Hayes-Tilden Contest for the Presidency* (Century Magazine, May); G. F. Edmunds, *Another View of the "Hayes-Tilden" Contest* (ibid., June); Henry Watterson, *Rejoinder to Ex-Senator Edmunds* (ibid.); C. O. Paullin, *A Half Century of Naval Administration in America, 1861-1911*, II. (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); Francis E. Leupp,

The Passing of a Dynasty (Atlantic Monthly, March); W. R. Riddell, *Upper Canada in Early Times: a Review* (Canadian Magazine, May); John S. Ewart, *Canada: Colony to Kingdom* (American Journal of International Law, April); Adam Shortt, *The Relation between the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Canadian Government* (Political Science Review, May).

ERRATUM

In Mr. Charles Francis Adams's article, "Wednesday, August 19, 1812, 6:30 P. M.", page 521, note 11, the date of the death of Isaac Hull Adams should have been November 5, 1900.

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